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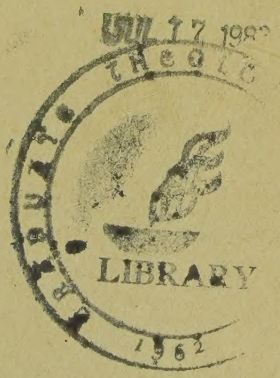

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EDITORIAL

IT IS not often that any generation of churchmen is privileged to receive biographies of two of its greatest members at the same time. Yet that is our good fortune to-day. The Christmas publishing season produced both Charles Smyth's *Cyril Forster Garbett*[1] and Eric Kemp's *Kenneth Escott Kirk*[2]. Both subjects are fortunate in their authors and also in their publishers: the two books are admirably written and produced: the price in each case is moderate: they are certain to have an immense sale.

They will both be compulsory reading for anyone who has any interest in current church affairs. Neither of them relies on exposing any skeletons in ecclesiastical cupboards. They do not aim at any *succès de scandale*. They rely upon the inherent interest of their subjects and the importance of the affairs with which they were concerned. This in itself is interesting. No generation ever finds it easy to recognize its contemporary heroes as giants or the events with which they were concerned as epoch-making. We may be an exception in that the re-shuffling of world power, the conquest of space, and the manipulation of the atom must make even the dullest aware that a new era has begun. We still need however some reminder that, as far as the ecclesiastical sphere is concerned, we have the men to match the time. These two books may do something to reassure us.

Not that there is any attempt in either case to write up the subject. Both authors have all the modern fear of being betrayed into hero-worship. Even the veteran Canon Smyth refuses to avail himself of the privilege, to which surely he was entitled, of fine writing, and is as objective as anyone could be; while Canon Kemp is prevented by his family connection with Bishop Kirk from giving full rein to his affection and admiration. No doubt elderly ladies will feel that some untoward influence has been rusting the haloes and angry young men will reflect how easily they themselves could have avoided all the pitfalls and redeemed all the abuses. Nevertheless the two volumes, judicial as they are, will stand as typical of the best twentieth-century biographical writing.

Considering the position of leadership both the bishops held, it is extraordinary how little their paths crossed. There is not even a

[1] Hodder and Stoughton, 35s. [2] Hodder and Stoughton, 20s.

mention of Garbett's name in the book on Kirk, and one cannot offhand remember a reference to Kirk in the book on Garbett. They must have met of course frequently, not only on the benches of the Church Assembly and Convocation but also in the more intimate atmosphere of the Bishops' Meeting. Yet although they held the same fundamental views and were at one in their attitude on some of the most controverted matters of policy, there is no evidence that they ever deliberately shared their ideas or concerted their actions.

The realization of this startling fact should help to kill the sinister rumours about the Bishops' Meeting that were current a short time ago amongst certain of the clergy. It was whispered that the meeting was a kind of secret caucus where all sorts of plots were hatched to sell passes to a shadowy enemy and to fasten yokes upon the shoulders of long-suffering incumbents. The fact that the membership of the meeting includes representatives from Wales and Scotland as well as from the two English provinces should have exposed the inherent improbability of such a conjecture. Actually of course the meeting is a gathering of professional gentlemen assembled to discuss the thousand and one questions arising out of the exercise of their craft. It is there that the new bishop is initiated into the intricacies of his office and there that the veteran is privileged to offer his advice.

Kirk, who was academically much the abler of the two, never felt that his colleagues were willing to listen to his advice. It is true that many of the more catholic minded both at home and overseas wrote to him for guidance, and his correspondence with individual bishops must have been heavy. But in conference he was never very happy. His physical weakness made him sometimes inaudible and his preference for going the long way round to any goal lost him a good deal of understanding and sympathy. He was very much—not from choice but from a natural fatality—a lone wolf in the field of public action.

Garbett also was a lone wolf. But of how different a pattern. Even in private life he had no intimates as Kirk had: his pathetic leaning on younger men for sympathy and companionship is very revealing. But as a public figure, after Temple's death there was no one to touch him. He had the brain of a statesman. Blue-books held no terror for him. He knew he could both speak and write with complete lucidity. He developed just the right touch of humour. As Archbishop of York he may have ruled his own Convocation with

an iron hand, but when he came down to the Bishops' Meeting or spoke in the Church Assembly, he was listened to with a sincere mixture of affection and respect. There was no one who carried so much weight in the Church Assembly as he.

It would not do to explain the difference by saying that Kirk was too much in the air while Garbett had his feet planted on the ground. Actually as a sheer man of business Kirk was as much Garbett's superior as he was in the academic sphere. Oxford still remembers with gratitude Kirk's amazing skill in settling its Delegacy of Lodgings as a smooth working machine. The difference is probably to be seen in the fact that the one was at his best when working with individuals while the other was happier when dealing with humanity in the mass. Garbett really found himself when he became a public figure. Both men fortunately were great pastors and regarded the salvation of souls as the one work God had given them to do. Each contributed his quota to the task in a highly individual way.

It is sometimes said that England is a nation of individualists and that its church faithfully follows the pattern. It is certainly true that both in Church and State we intensely dislike the tendency to "gang up". But at the same time we are admirers and perhaps even the creators of the team spirit. Our national democratic institutions show that we can teach the individual genius to contribute his special service to the good of the whole. The two biographies here considered show that in this respect the Church is less the learner than the teacher.

THE CHRISTIAN CONCEPT OF BEAUTY

MICHAEL CHAMPNEYS

THIS is not a subject into which we can plunge blindly. We must first try to assure ourselves that any valid concept of beauty, Christian or otherwise, is possible, and this assurance is surprisingly difficult to achieve

The multiplicity of uses which the word beauty is made to serve warns us of the complex nature of our inquiry. For what can a word *mean* which is applied indifferently to sunsets, poetry, the human form, feet (when they bring good tidings!), music, sorrow, a chess-problem, holiness, a scientific theory, flowers? The list is not quite, but very nearly, endless. Naturally, therefore, the word lends itself to delightfully mischievous uses, as, for instance, when Saki[1] writes: "Oysters are more beautiful than any religion. . . . There's nothing in Christianity or Buddhism that quite matches the sympathetic unselfishness of an oyster."

"Beautiful." What are we to do with a word like this? Shall we restrict its use within rational limits, or simply lament the poverty of our language?

There is, of course, the branch of psychology called aesthetics, dealing with the principles which govern our judgement of what is or is not beautiful. We might expect some help from that. But I have to confess that my ignorance of the subject is almost complete. Yet I did once receive instruction in this obscure discipline—at a very early age. It was the more impressive in that I had no human tutor. I learned my lesson from that appealing amphibian, *bufo vulgaris*, the common toad. It happened in this way. Much of my time in early childhood was spent in a suburban garden where I had to find my own amusements. Toads, during that period, became my reluctant companions, and were forcibly constrained to do my bidding. I knew well their hiding places, under the spreading tufts of arabis and aubrietia, or among the brickbats in some dark corner. Yet there were days on which I searched in vain, days which challenged my childish omnipotence with a challenge that could not be ignored. Something had to be done, and this is what I did. I built a little grotto, shady, moist, cool. Then I strewed its floor with a carpet of the greenest moss and adorned its walls with sprigs of

[1] Hector Manual.

delicate foliage. No toad, I thought, could pass by without looking in: no toad, having looked in, could refrain from entering: no toad, having entered, would ever wish to leave an abode so delectable. Never again would I have to search laboriously, and perhaps in vain, through the length and breadth of the garden. Here surely I would always find a playmate in snug possession of the house beautiful.

The failure of my plan, complete and absolute, the continued absence of the common toad, left me with two alternative explanations: either the toad had a different set of aesthetic values from my own; or had none at all.

Long years have passed and I find that the word beauty is engraved on my mind with a mark of interrogation attached to it. Perhaps there should be several of them, for a string of questions seems to hang on the word to hamper and vex my thoughts.

It may still be possible to become so enraptured by some splendour of earth or sky or sea that no problems can penetrate the entrancement. But sooner or later questioning has to begin. Is this beauty intrinsic in the scene, or is it, as some believe, "altogether in the eye of the beholder"? When we consider the "sweet sorrow" with which beauty is often interfused, when we peer through "dews which blur our eyes to see the peach-bloom come in evening skies" we can hardly suppose that the sadness belongs to the sunset: we know it to be in ourselves.

By what right, therefore, can we separate the beauty from the sadness, claiming for the one an objectivity which we must deny to the other?.

Was not Yeats justified when he wrote of "the phantom, Beauty, in a mist of tears"?

Most of us would prefer to believe that there *is* a given, self-existent beauty in nature: but there are many difficulties.

From age to age, from culture to culture, we find great divergences in the aesthetic sense. The literature of the ancients embodies no praise of nature in her wilder aspects. The valleys standing thick with corn, crystal streams, green pastures, purple vineyards—everything which savours of peace and fertility might cast a spell of beauty on the beholder. But the rugged mountain, the turbulent sea, the desolate moor spoke only of fear and loneliness. Indeed the aesthetic enjoyment of untamed nature is a very modern development.

Further, in any given age there are wide differences in aesthetic judgements among the races of mankind. And tastes not only differ, they also change.

These considerations, and many others, make it hard to believe in the objectivity of beauty. They may induce us to reject the dictum of Keats, "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever", as palpably false. It is only after a long and difficult journey of thought that we can reach a view-point from which it is seen to be impalpably true.

If we undertake such a journey we shall do well to keep in constant touch with some of our English poets, for in them we shall find at least the prolegomena to a philosophy of beauty. Among those who demand special attention I would include Traherne, Vaughan, Wordsworth, Keats—and in our own day Robert Bridges.

I mention Bridges only because his "Testament of Beauty" is a treatise which will have to be taken into account by later generations. For my own part I can record only my first impression of this great work. It is a searching examination of sentient life in its relation to beauty. It appears to reach the conclusion that beauty is a ruling principle alike for the individual and for the race.

But it is in the poets of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries whom I have mentioned that we find the point of departure for our excursion. They meditate upon the "angell-infancy" in which and for which "the earth and every common sight" seem to be "apparelled in celestial light". This perception is not, in their view, simply congenital; it is of pre-natal origin, brought into the world as an attribute of the pre-existing soul of the new-born child; for

> The Soul that rises with us, our life's Star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar:
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home.

I do not invite you to accept out of hand the philosophical conclusions which the poets draw from the illumination of childhood. Perhaps we may even put up a few defences against the persuasive splendour of their language, the lure of intoxicating rhythms, the magic of haunting imagery, the pleading pathos of nostalgia.

But having hardened our hearts a little in order to keep our heads we may safely accept one great service which these poets of childhood have rendered. They have preserved for us in perpetuity experiences of which our personal memories have grown dim; they have kept a window on the past unshuttered for any who care to look back.

Standing at such a window we shall, as thinking men, ask our own questions; they will not necessarily be the same questions which the poets have asked, and some of them will demand the use of language unattuned to poetic thought. But the poets will remain at our side to reveal, though not to explain.

The word "illumination", which I have already used, seems to be indispensable. The illumination of childhood is not, of course, identical with the illumination of the Mystic Way. But inasmuch as there are limits even to the great wealth of our English tongue, I propose to use the same word to denote "the glory and the freshness of a dream". In these inflationary days when too many words are chasing too little sense this measure of economy may be wholesome.

If we try to recall the illuminated state with the two-fold aid of memory and poetry we shall notice that the illumination could be either focussed or diffused. It is focussed illumination that Keats has in mind when he says "a thing of beauty"; it is diffused illumination of which Wordsworth writes when he says "the earth and every common sight to me did seem apparelled in celestial light".

The second point to notice is the timelessness of the illuminated state. Time is standing still: we have our being in the eternal present.

Here is a brief description of this timelessness from a prose passage of Traherne: "Boys and girls, tumbling in the street and playing, were moving jewels. I knew not that they were born, or should die, but all things abided eternally as they were in their proper place."

Thirdly, the *self* sinks into a kind of irrelevance; there is no first person in the grammar of illumination; the ego is merged into an enchanted world; it is no longer pure subject in relation with pure object—that duality has been, not contracted, but paradoxically *expanded* into a unity.

It may have been this integration of subject and object, of observer and observed, that moved Wordsworth to address the

child as "Thou best philosopher". Wordsworth himself was not a philosopher in any technical sense of the word; certainly not a metaphysician. He was first and last a poet; and there are important differences, at least in method, between the poet and the metaphysician. To the metaphysician the laws of thought are valid of reality, and therefore reliable guides to the nature of reality. In order to apply them correctly some analysis of experience is necessary before any attempt at synthesis can be safely undertaken. That is why so much of the metaphysician's labour appears to be concerned with negation and abstraction. The poet's approach is from the beginning concrete and positive. He believes that truth is revealed symbolically through beauty, and this revelation, so far as it concerns the child, requires no effort of response. Beauty purveys "Authentic tidings of invisible things". It is only when this revelation begins to weaken, and is, perhaps, eventually withdrawn, that truth and beauty become the quarry of laborious pursuit. So, in retrospect, the child appears as one "on whom those truths do *rest*, which we are *toiling* all our lives to find". And here we see the first step towards the identification of the child's prerogative of Beauty, and the man's preoccupation with Truth. It is here that the poet begins to join forces with the metaphysician, though his method remains distinct. The metaphysician is reaching forward along a charted course; the poet is following a scent. But inasmuch as it is a remembered scent he must often hark back to recapture its quality.

I wish there were a word to describe this odour of truth. I can think of one word which denotes an important ingredient in it, but is far from describing it completely. It is a clumsy word, "meaningfulness", but it is preferable to "significance", which is, I think, too precise and particular. For in the illumination of childhood, which was our starting-point, each object of our rapt attention had meaning, and was felt to have it; but we were not interested in discovering what the meaning was. It was right; it "made sense". "Every thing that I did see did with me talk" (Traherne). About what? The question did not arise then, and cannot properly be asked now. But it was certainly not nonsense. Every thing breathed out the aroma of truth, as a pine-forest exhales the crisp fragrance of health.

It would be misleading to call the illumination of childhood a religious experience—spiritual, perhaps, but not, strictly speaking,

religious. For the young child, in moments of illumination, does not usually think about God, and certainly does not seek him, for he is completely satisfied. But a time may come when God *will* be recognized in the illumined states, now few and far between. In the first world war a young soldier was illuminated on his way up to the firing line. He passed the open door of a shed, and looking in, saw stacks of empty petrol-cans. He described them, in a letter, as "glowing with God".

Petrol-cans are not, in themselves, beautiful objects. So when even they are touched with glory, we are bound to ask: Is *anything* intrinsically beautiful? We can usefully frame this question in a more comprehensive way: Is there in the created universe any principle of beauty? We should wish to answer Yes, to maintain that God has set us, for the span of our earthly life, in a House Beautiful where we may "dwell already the next door to Heaven". But we must beware not only of wishful thinking, but also of a kind of piety so selective in its treatment of evidence as to be virtually dishonest. It attempts to *prove* the love of God by pointing to the benevolent aspects of nature while ignoring its ambivalent cruelty; to *prove* the glory of God by stressing the beauties of nature, while ignoring its ugliness. On the face of it such eclecticism is clearly illegitimate. We shall attend, presently, to the conditions that would be necessary to make it respectable. But for the moment let us face the fact of ugliness. We are not strangers to it; for some it even has a morbid fascination. Indeed we are at the present time immersed in a cult of ugliness: music, dancing, painting, sculpture, architecture, fiction, and even poetry are paying homage to it. We might well cry, in the words of Aldous Huxley,

> In what
> Revolting fancy were the Forms begot
> Of all these monsters?

When ugliness is thus cultivated we may reasonably suspect that the psychic pressure of some deep-seated *fear* is at work, and, if we are very charitable, we may even commend the artist for giving this fear symbolic expression as the first step towards its expulsion. For this epoch of ugliness is indubitably also an age of fear.

But we are more concerned, in our present enquiry, with the ugliness of *Nature*. Deep down in the folk-memories which we all share, far below the conscious level, there must be stored many

pristine terrors which have long since lost their first potency. Those objects and scenes which we describe as ugly may be dim reflections, highly symbolized, of our time-expired fears. Certainly they may be quite unrelated to present fears. What menace remains in the African wart-hog, most hideous of mammals, or in our old friend, the common toad, trusted ally of the gardener, unwilling playmate of small boys? Yet we call them ugly.

I admit that this correlation of ugliness with fear is questionable, yet I think it is worth considering. What we cannot question is the self-evident proposition that if there is beauty in the universe, there is also ugliness. Surely Christians should be the last people to deny it. For if the universe as a whole afforded indisputable proof of the glory, wisdom, and love of God, men might be satisfied with a natural religion, desiring no other revelation, no "express image", no incarnation of the Word.

We cannot altogether acquit our poets of the eclecticism which I have ventured to deprecate. The all-glamorous childhood described in Wordsworth's ode is suspiciously free from infantile terrors, from the shattering sense of insecurity, from bleak despondency.

Yet Wordsworth does not always avert his eyes from the dark side of the picture:

> Huge and mighty forms that do not live
> Like living men, moved slowly through the mind
> By day, and were a trouble to my dreams.

He does realize the need to balance the account.

> Fair seed-time had my soul, and I grew up
> Fostered alike by beauty and by fear.

It is interesting to note that in Wordsworth's thought, as in our own thoughts now, fear shoulders its way into the rationale of beauty, as if to claim that fearfulness rather than ugliness is beauty's real antithesis.

All these poets, with the possible exception of Keats (who died at the age of twenty-six), grow pensive and wistful over the loss of illumination in adult life. But none would suggest that the sense of beauty is entirely extinguished, though it is changed. It has grown more self-conscious and more capable of cultivation. It has lost

much of its primal spontaneity, but has acquired the virtue (if it be a virtue) of discrimination.

The impact of the Christian faith on the aesthetic sense often escapes notice, not because it is weak, but because it is part of the wider impact which affects and expands the whole personality. Nevertheless it does sometimes compel our startled attention. It has been observed by those who have worked among African tribes that a Kaffir, after conversion to Christianity, would go far out of his way on a journey to see a fine view of mountain, valley, river, or lake: to the unconverted such a digression would be unthinkable.

I believe that this deeply significant fact is recorded by Fr Congreve, S.S.J.E., who worked among Kaffirs fifty years ago, though I have been unable to trace the passage. But Fr Congreve has something else to contribute to our enquiry. He believed unquestionably that beauty is eloquent of God, and his own sense of beauty was joyful and profound. Yet he issues a warning, which I can summarize in a few words. There must be no clinging to beauty. Beauty is, and ought to be, transitory, evanescent. For its purpose is to provide the impulse of a movement towards God; it must not linger to clog the progress which it has instigated.

Must we therefore send poor Keats to the bottom of the class when he describes a "thing of beauty" as "a joy for ever"? I do not think so. He may have been trying to condense, in those few words, an immeasurable truth: "a joy for ever" *can* mean a joy in eternity, a timeless joy, a joy that "no man taketh from you". The "thing" may perish, yet the joy of it may be immortal. Indeed he had begun, even in his short life, to evolve a metaphysic of beauty: "beauty is truth, truth beauty". In one of his letters he makes a further advance: "what the imagination seizes as beauty must be truth", and then he adds a phrase which is both obscure and significant, "whether it existed before or not". I think this can only mean that he thinks of beauty, not as a mere quality, but as a creative principle. I have offered you a medley of some borrowed thoughts about the nature of beauty. It does not enable us to draw many conclusions. But one or two features have emerged which may turn out to be the necessary "points of rest" in a rather confusing picture.

First, the character of God, as revealed in the Incarnate Word, is our only guarantee for the belief that beauty is essentially a symbol of the Divine.

Secondly, we cannot *become* as little children by remaining little children. Some fading of the "vision splendid" must be accepted if it is ever to be transformed into the Beatific Vision.

The spiritual illumination described by the mystics is perhaps a comparatively late stage in this transformation. But it would seem that some are not called to the higher illumination in this life.

Here are some lines from a nineteenth-century poet who believed that he had no such vocation; he accepts his deprivation without repining, but calls upon his feeling for natural beauty to justify his unseeing faith.

> Let not me, who have no mission
> Yet to see the shining vision,
> E'er forget that night and day
> Are His strange vicarious way:
> He by one prepares the other,
> Glooming me to light my brother.
> May I ever blinded be,
> If my disability
> Help my fellow-man to see.
>
> In this night of my unknowing
> His symbol-light shall be my showing.
> I'll know that at the rise of sun
> High Mass, for all, in heaven's begun;
> That when at noontide height it lingers
> Christ lifts the Host in His pierced fingers;
> And at its setting it shall tell
> How he descendeth, loving well,
> Even to me, His child in hell.[2]

Indeed the only reality that we can confidently claim for beauty is the reality of a sacrament. If we are convinced of this we shall not vex ourselves too much over the problems of the objectivity of beauty.

We shall gratefully acknowledge that the created universe contains abundant "matter" for the sacrament of beauty.

Must we ask whether this "matter" is presanctified in the very act of creation, or whether it is consecrated *ad hoc* by the power of the divine immanence to meet our individual needs as and when they occur?

[2] W. L. Wilmshurst.

Perhaps we must ask it; but we need not let ourselves be misled by our western habit of posing all problems in terms of "either-or" only to find, after much labour, that our alternatives are *not* mutually exclusive, that both may be true.

In any case, if a thing of beauty has sacramental reality, we should be well content; for that, after all, is the highest kind of reality that any created thing can have.

It has been pointed out to me by a friend with whom I have discussed the subject of this paper that "The Christian Concept of Beauty" is an ill-chosen title; that the line of thought which I have tried to pursue does not, and cannot, establish a specifically Christian *concept* of beauty. To this contention I make provisional surrender. But I do insist that there is a specifically Christian *attitude* to beauty, and that we have at least approached it.

In this attitude there are certain ethical implications which we have so far ignored. The puritan view of beauty as a quality well-adapted to lure the soul to destruction forms part of our religious background. Temptation through beauty is a commonplace of experience both on the spiritual and on the physical plane. The creative artist may fall into a spiritual pride which makes him a law unto himself; the lust of the eye may lead the sensuous into carnal indulgence of which he is ashamed. This fear of beauty seems, on the face of it, reasonable enough. Yet fear is never really a wise counsellor. I believe that the secret of exorcizing this fear can be found only in Catholic Christianity. It was first made known to me, when I was a young man, by a priest of wide experience and strictly disciplined life. He taught me that when beauty brings temptation it is not to be thrust aside on that account, but to be sanctified by an act of thanksgiving: that for which we thank God cannot corrupt; it is consecrated.

But is not consecration through thanksgiving the very heart and centre of the Church's work and worship? A Eucharistic Church has nothing to fear from beauty. She rejoices in it and absorbs it into her life of praise and thanksgiving.

THE PROPHETIC TEACHING ON RIGHTEOUSNESS AND OUR PREACHING

J. ROBINSON

ADOLF HARNACK in his justly famous book, *What is Christianity?*, maintains that it is possible to see in the religious conceptions of the Bible an evolutionary pattern which develops uniformly from the lower to the higher. There are three main stages in the history of religion; primitive religion, the religion of the prophets, and the religion of Jesus. Thus he says, "The history of religion marked an enormous advance, religion itself was established afresh, when through poets and thinkers in Greece on the one hand, and through the prophets in Palestine on the other, the idea of righteousness and a righteous God became a living force and transformed tradition. . . . The two great provinces of religion and morality, hitherto separated, were now brought into close relation; for 'the God-head is holy and just.' " But this was only an intermediate stage, for he goes on to say. "But it does not contain the ultimate step. Not until justice was compelled to give way to mercy, and the idea of brotherhood and self-sacrifice in the service of one's neighbour became paramount, was the last advance accomplished that it was possible and necessary to make. Here again religion received a fresh foundation."[1] In the Bible then, there are two clearly defined and separate revelations of God, the first in the prophets and the second in Jesus. Rather in the same way as the inventor of a machine, at a later date as the result of greater experience and further reflection, may perfect a new model which makes the first obsolete, so the teaching of Jesus has replaced the teaching of the prophets. Harnack introduces this idea of progressive revelation quite incidentally into his book as one that would be accepted axiomatically by his readers. In so doing he was expressing one of the leading theological presuppositions of his age which underlies much of the thinking and writing of the theologians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such the idea of a progressive revelation in the Bible has passed into common use and become part of the mental furniture of many of the clergy. It is thus responsible for much that is uttered from our pulpits to-day. For instance it is commonly said that whereas the Old Testament proclaims a God of justice, the New Testament proclaims a God of love. So that in the light of the New Testament the

character of justice is so changed that much, if not all, that the Old Testament says with regard to justice, punishment, and retribution is more truly called revenge. Equally all references to God's displeasure, anger, or wrath are regarded as unworthy anthropomorphisms to be rejected as the crudities of religious immaturity. What this means is that the New Testament does not so much fulfil the Old as replace it. A large part of the purpose of the New Testament becomes the correction of the immature and perverted view of the character of God presented in the Old Testament and the position taken up long ago by Marcion that the Christian Church has no need of the Old Testament is virtually true.

The argument of this article is that the Old and New Testaments are only rightly understood together; the Old does prepare the way for the New, the New does fulfil and not replace the Old. While the New Testament offers a deeper and more intimate understanding of the nature of God, this complements the insights of the prophets which themselves remain valid. Moreover where this is not understood there is a great danger of preaching an attenuated doctrine of the Godhead; and, in particular, to maintain that Christianity preaches a God of love without reference to the other attributes of the Deity is to proclaim a sentimental abstraction which is an unworthy and enfeebled caricature of the God and father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is certainly ironical that those very scholars who regarded the teaching of the prophets as but an intermediate step in the divine revelation, were those who had given to the prophets an authority and a prominence which had never previously been theirs. For those who accepted the results of critical scholarship the Torah was dethroned from the place it had always held as the primary source of revelation. The prophets from being watchdogs who called a faithless and back-sliding people to return to the purity of the Mosaic revelation, were exalted to become themselves the first preachers of that ethical monotheism which is the chief glory of the Old Testament. They proclaimed a new truth that God was righteous and he demanded righteousness from men. This was a great advance but not the last word because the prophets were regarded as ethical teachers rather than religious leaders. They were men who proclaimed ethical principles and moral laws more than spiritual devotion. The spirituality such as it was, was to be found in the sanctuaries expressed in sacrifices and like cultic practices. (Notice how

Harnack coupled the contribution of the prophets to the development of religion with that of the poets and thinkers of Greece.)

But this way of thinking is a radical misunderstanding of the teaching and personality of the prophets. Ethical they were but the ethics sprang out of a deep, personal religious devotion. They were no upholders of an abstract ideal; rather they were passionate devotees of the God they knew and loved and their teaching was given that others might come to know him equally well. They proclaimed the righteousness of God because of their love for God and their knowledge of God's love for them. An examination of their teaching makes this abundantly clear. Certainly Amos could proclaim the full rigour of divine retribution on all the neighbours of Israel for their wicked deeds which had transgressed the divine righteousness. Like punishment would fall on Israel herself. "You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities" (3. 2). Yet even to Amos the redemptive purposes of Israel's God are known. "I gave you cleanness of teeth in all your cities, and lack of bread in all your places, yet you did not return to me, says the Lord" (4. 6). Equally Isaiah saw a moral purpose and a moral law at work in history, "Ah, Assyria, the rod of my anger" (10. 5), but he could still confidently gather his disciples and speak of a righteous remnant. The prophets looked upon history and from their knowledge of the character and ways of God, saw there a moral order, a process of retributive justice that punished the wicked and rewarded the righteous. They saw too, more than this. The same righteous God had made a covenant with Israel at Sinai and on the basis of that covenant the redemptive purpose of Yahweh could be discerned. "When Israel was a child I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son" (Hos. 11. 1). The righteousness of God as experienced and taught by the prophets was never the cold impartiality of the merely ethical moral standard. It was indeed, the demand for obedience from the sovereign God but its motive was loving concern for the wayward creature. This motive of love was perhaps rarely, if ever, applied to the nations outside the covenant relationship but it seems always to have been known to be there, hidden or revealed, even in the prophetic condemnation of the petty social injustices suffered by the poor. "In Amos the *tsadiq* is always the poor man, with no influence at his back, who must therefore look to the judge to maintain his rights. This feature might be considered accidental,

arising from the injustice to which the poor were subjected at the time. But it is important nevertheless, as exhibiting an aspect of the Hebrew idea of judicial righteousness which is apt to be overlooked by us. It denotes not merely the neutral impartial attitude of mind which decided fairly between rival interests, but a positive energy on the side of right, a readiness to protect and succour those who have no help in themselves."[2] The fully developed meaning of this aspect of Yahweh's righteousness is seen in the writings of Deutero-Isaiah. There "the word means 'vindication' and even 'salvation' to a far greater extent than 'ethical rightness'. The meaning is now soteriological and only to a slight extent ethical."[3] This is far from any conception of an ethical justice which is antithetical to love.

The prophetic teaching on the righteousness of God and the consequences of that teaching influenced later ages probably most of all through the work of the Deuteronomic school. As is well known, a school of writers grew up in Israel around and after 621 B.C. who, on the basis of the older law codes, traditions, and court chronicles, rewrote the law and history of their people. The book of Deuteronomy and the historical books, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings (the former Prophets of the Hebrew bible) are their work. The characteristic ideas of the school are set out in Deuteronomy and their practical implications are then developed in the history that follows. "The book is a history written with a religious theory and a practical aim. It has for subject not mere History, but the lessons of history."[4] This judgement of Professor Montgomery on the book of Kings is applicable to all the Deuteronomic histories. The great lesson which the Deuteronomists sought to inculcate was that there was a moral order in history and that order was a direct consequence of the righteous will of Yahweh. History was no "tale told by an idiot, signifying nothing", nor was there any truth in the common judgement that right was the will of the stronger. Those whose eyes were enlightened by faith could see in history a pattern of retributive justice. Perhaps the clearest statement of this pattern occurs in Judges 2. There we are told that Yahweh brought Israel into the promised land and gave them prosperity under the leader he had chosen for them. After the death of the leader, Israel lapsed into apostacy, worshipped the Baals, and was disobedient. There followed a period of national weakness. Israel's enemies prevailed against her and she suffered greatly. As a result the people turned from the Baals to cry out in supplication to Yahweh, who seeing their repent-

ance, raised up another leader to deliver them out of the hand of their enemies. There then followed a period of loyalty and prosperity until the death of the leader when the whole process was repeated. The lesson of this is that prosperity is the reward of loyal obedience to Yahweh and a genuine attempt to live in accord with his known will, while the result of disobedience is misery and suffering. The experience of the exile seared this teaching into the national consciousness. So much so that retributive justice as the working out in human experience of God's righteousness became a central doctrine of Judaism from the time of the return onwards and lies at the root of most of the religious problems dealt with in the later books of the Old Testament.

But side by side with this stress on retributive justice, there is in Deuteronomy also a stress on love, both God's love for man and man's love for God. Professor Snaith has pointed out that the verb to love (*'hb*) is used twenty-four times in the Old Testament in the sense of man's love for God and in only four of these cases is there no Deuteronomic influence.[5] Similarly in comparing the legislation of Deuteronomy with similar legislation in the earlier codes, all commentators remark upon the humanity of Deuteronomy; its concern to mitigate the severity of the laws, to uphold the cause of those who were weak, particularly the widows, orphans, and resident aliens. It is noticed too, how often Deuteronomy appeals to generosity of conduct on the ground of Israel's need to show gratitude to Yahweh for the loving way in which he has dealt with them. "The author speaks out of a warm heart himself; and he strives to kindle a warm response in the heart of every one whom he addresses. Nowhere else in the O.T. do we breathe such an atmosphere of generous devotion to God, and of large-hearted benevolence towards man; nowhere else are duties and motives set forth with greater depth and tenderness of feeling, or with more winning and persuading eloquence; and nowhere else is it shown with the same fulness of detail how high and noble principles may be applied so as to elevate and refine the entire life of the community."[6] Again as with the prophets, the Deuteronomists seem to have experienced no difficulty in preaching retributive justice and God's punishment of wickedness, together with Yahweh's love for Israel and Israel's duty to love Yahweh and their fellow men in return.

Enough has now been said to show that in the teaching of the prophets and the tradition which developed out of it, both the

righteousness and the love of God have a distinct place. Indeed, these two words more than any others, contain the essence of the revelation of the being of God as he stands revealed in the Old Testament. They are the essential background against which the teaching of the New Testament must be understood. Not that the Jews had found this prophetic teaching easy to understand or to assimilate and their developments of it were found wanting by some of their own religious leaders. There was the over-simplification of the nationalists, that God's love was reserved for the covenant people whilst his righteousness was displayed as wrath against the gentiles, a doctrine abhorrent to the author of Jonah. Similarly, there was the interpretation against which Job protested, that cause could be implied from result and therefore, all suffering was to be interpreted as punishment for sin. Thus Rabbi Chanina ben Dossa said, "It is not the wild beast but sin which kills",[7] and St John in his gospel shows our Lord meeting and dealing with the same doctrine. "Rabbi, who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" (9. 2). None of this teaching was acceptable to Jesus and what we are offered in the New Testament is a deeper insight into the relationship between the righteousness and the love of God based upon the fuller revelation of the being of God in Christ.

We find then, in the New Testament that the prophetic teaching on retributive justice is affirmed and made the basis for a demand for repentance. Jesus himself is reported by St Matthew as declaring that his purpose was to fulfil the Law and the prophets rather than replace them (5. 17). What this means in practice has been well summed up by Dr Edwyn Bevan, "There is never a word in any saying attributed to Jesus in any of our four gospels to suggest that he repudiated as too severe the Old Testament conception of God".[8] Wherever Jesus amended the Old Testament law it was not in the direction of relaxation but of tightening it up both by his concern for inner motive and the positive nature of his demands. In Luke 13 1-9, three sayings are recorded which show that the thought of Jesus was fully in line with that of the prophets in seeing a moral order in history revealed in retributive justice. The Galileans slaughtered by Herod and the eighteen workmen killed by the accidental fall of the tower of Siloam were not to be taken as examples of great sinners. Rather the hearers interpreting these incidents as divine retribution were to use them as incentives to repentance for their own sins. There then follows the parable of the fig tree which for three years

had borne no fruit. A further year's respite is left to it, after which, if it is still barren, it will be cut down. The moral is obvious.

Similarly in the earliest preaching of the Apostles recorded in the Acts, this same principle is used. Peter declares (2. 24) that Jesus was raised from the dead "because it was not possible for him to be held by it", and supports this with a quotation from a psalm which declares that God vindicates his faithful: "For thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades, nor let thy Holy One see corruption." Later Acts also tells us that Paul, preaching before the Athenians, calls them to repent because God has fixed a day "by which he will judge the world in righteousness" (17. 31). If there is any doubt as to the originality of that speech, the Pauline epistles themselves are very definite. Men are to repent because "God will render to every man according to his works" (2. 6) is Paul's teaching to the Romans. In another place he reminds the Corinthians that "we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ, so that each may receive good or evil, according to what he has done in the body" (2 Cor. 5. 10). Many other examples could be cited both from the Pauline epistles and from those of the other writers. There is nothing here to indicate that for the New Testament writers the righteousness of God revealed in events as retributive justice is an outmoded idea. The New Testament is just as concerned as the Old that men should see history as a moral process. The difference between the two Testaments is that while in the Old this recognition often leads to despair, in the New coupled with the resurrection of Jesus it leads to hope.

But the main emphasis of the New Testament is not upon the righteousness of God but upon his love. This is so obvious that no more need be said. What is less obvious is the necessary relationship between righteousness and love. God revealed himself in history first as righteousness because only after consciously encountering God as retributive justice can a man fully experience the depth of God's love. God's purposes are ultimately redemptive, but only after a man has experienced suffering not as irrational chance or bad luck but as punishment can he experience it as redemptive. This surely is the implication of the demand throughout the New Testament for repentance and faith as the true response to the preaching of the gospel. God does not change. He does not assume different attributes in his dealing with us at different times. It is man who changes, as in experience he penetrates nearer to the heart of the Divine, receives a fuller revelation of God's nature, or grows in sanctifying grace.

These are all different descriptions of one experience. But no human progress, no advance in knowledge can ever so change man that he can encounter God as love but by-pass him as righteousness. Only when man has met God as the Holy One who abhors all sin and punishes it, who is sovereign Creator and demands obedience, only then can he find that the holiness is motivated by love and the obedience is pure joy. Suffering must become repentance because repentance is suffering in the interests of the moral order. Most clearly can this be seen in the epithets which are applied to the crucifixion. It is declared to be the righteousness, and the redemption and the love of God. The order is important. For the love of God is realized when we understand the necessity and the cost of redemption, and the necessity of the redemption is understood when we understand, or perhaps even only when we experience, the meaning of righteousness. And thereby, our salvation is completely satisfying because God has redeemed us without either affronting our intellect or outraging our moral sense. In Jesus the Old Testament insights into the nature of God are accepted and fulfilled. God is shown to be righteousness and love and the relationship of these two attributes to each other is made clear. The New Testament never falls into the nationalism and vindictiveness which are sometimes found in the Old Testament because the covenant relationship is made freely available to all men on the basis not of race but of faith and repentance. The man who enters the covenant on those terms experiences God as righteousness and as love without confusion or contradiction. So the doctrine of the Old Testament is not rejected in the New but deepened and fulfilled.

Thus the keynote of the Apostolic preaching can be expressed in two words, deliverance and power. God in Christ has entered history to do for men that which they are incapable of doing for themselves. He has regained for them the capacity to live in true fellowship both with God and with their fellowmen. This preaching came as a word of deliverance precisely because it was proclaimed to those who knew and accepted the prophetic teaching of God's righteousness. Men who knew themselves to be sinners and felt cut off from the fellowship of God, found through faith in the resurrection a new experience of forgiveness and peace. Equally it was a word of power because men who had always known from the teaching of the prophets that God's ultimate purposes were

redemptive, in that he was always ready to forgive the truly penitent sinner, found in the gospel a power by which they could claim and appropriate that forgiveness, and even more, could live lives of a new and finer quality worthy of their new status. By baptism they were admitted to a society governed by love and forgiveness as practical, daily experiences and not as visionary utopias. So in the New Testament the Church is a society enclosed by baptism and surrounded by a world existing under the judgement of God. In that world the true seeker first found God as the righteous Lord who had established a moral order in his universe and demanded that man obey it. The work of the Church was to preach the gospel of deliverance and power, that men should be brought to repentance and faith and by baptism admitted into a new society, the Church.

How different is this from modern preaching based on a doctrine of progressive revelation. Such a view of revelation finds in scripture not the record of the unique activity of God in history, but the evidence from which truths about God can be extracted. Then the subject of the preaching is not the mighty acts of God's redemption but the timeless truths of "genuine Christianity". Christianity is summed up as the way of love or some equally abstract and formal title the content of which is filled in from contemporary, non-biblical, and usually non-Christian, humanist thought. The sermon becomes a lesson in ethics because the function of the Church is regarded as educating men rather than redeeming them. And since the prophetic teaching on righteousness has been set on one side as sub-Christian, there is little, if any, concern about repentance. It inevitably follows from this that the teaching on forgiveness is defective. God condones rather than forgives sin. "Dieu vous pardonnerai, c'est son métier." Nor is it ever considered important to call men to reject their past and enter the fellowship of the Church. They must stay where they are and try to do better. Such preaching is both defective in theology and useless in practice. It has a superficial view of man's need, education rather than redemption, and an inadequate view of the work of Christ, teacher and example rather than redeemer. In practice it takes the form of exhortation or denunciation, neither of which alone is of any value. All great religious leaders from the beginning of time, all philosophers, and indeed, all men of good will have had ideals and hopes. It is no new thing to proclaim that men should live together in peace and love or

to point out the mistakes and faults which hinder the realization of that ideal. What is new, indeed unique, in Christianity is the good news of the divine intervention in history and the power of the resurrection which alone enables the Church in each generation to live the life of love and manifest it to the world. It is pointless to exhort men to do, or to denounce them for not doing, what is beyond their power. The only practical thing is to do what the apostles did, namely to urge men by repentance and faith to receive baptism and in the power of the resurrection live then by love. To do this we must preach the God who reveals himself to us in the scriptures as righteousness and love. Our concern with contemporary events in the world will be to use them as illustrations of God's moral order and the retribution which inevitably follows in the train of sin. The world exists under the righteous judgement of God. Then the meaning of the redemption in Christ and the experience of forgiveness is cogent and faith and repentance are seen and felt to be the only possible response. The life of love is, of course, the goal and ought to be the fruit of Christian preaching but it is displayed to the world more convincingly in the life of the Church than in its preaching. Love lived out day by day within the Christian community is both experienced and demonstrated without that artificiality, preciousness, or sentimentality which are the almost inevitable accompaniment of vague, ethical exhortation. The true place in the Christian economy for love is in the day to day sacrifice and self-renunciation which is Christian living. There it exists without any sentimentalizing of its true nature and fulfils its apologetic function by giving conviction to the Church's work of preaching judgement and salvation to the world.

1 Adolf Harnack, *What is Christianity?* Fifth English edition. Ernest Benn, 1958, pp. 63f.

2 J. Skinner, "Righteousness in the Old Testament", Hasting's *Dictionary of the Bible.* Vol. IV, p. 274b.

3 N. H. Snaith, *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament.* Epworth, 1944, p. 87.

4 Montgomery & Gehman, I.C.C. Commentary on Kings, T. & T. Clark, 1951, p. 44.

5 Snaith, op. cit., pp. 132f.

6 S. R. Driver, I.C.C. Commentary on Deuteronomy. Second Edition, T. & T. Clark, 1896, p. XXV.

7 Quoted by S. Schechter in an article entitled, "The Doctrine of Divine Retribution in Rabbinical Literature" in his volume *Studies in Judaism.* A. & C. Black, 1896, p. 264.

8 Edwyn Bevan, *Symbolism and Belief* (Gifford Lectures), from the first of two lectures on the Wrath of God, p. 213.

THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY

H. EDWARD SYMONDS, C.R.

"THE necessity of believing our Saviour to be thus born of the Virgin Mary, will appear both in respect of her who was the Mother, and of Him who was the Son. In respect of her, it was therefore necessary that we might perpetually preserve an esteem of her person proportionable to so high a dignity. It was her own prediction 'from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed,' but the obligation is ours to call her, to esteem her so. If Elizabeth cried out with so loud a voice, 'Blessed art thou among women,' when Christ was but newly conceived in her womb; what expressions of honour and admiration can we think sufficient, now that Christ is in heaven, and that Mother with Him? Far be it from any christian to derogate from that special privilege granted her, which is incommunicable to any other. We cannot bear too reverent a regard unto the Mother of our Lord, so long as we give her not that worship which is due unto the Lord Himself. Let us keep the language of the primitive church; 'Let her be honoured and esteemed, let Him be worshipped and adored'." These words are those of Bishop Pearson in his famous work on the Creed.[1]

The doctrine of the Incarnation of the Son of God involves, as Bishop Pearson saw, a doctrine of the Blessed Virgin Mary, his Mother. Let us consider first her co-operation with the work of the Holy Spirit by which God became man. The Incarnation was wholly a divine work, but it involved the taking of real human nature from a human stock. ("He took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham". Heb. 2. 16.) And this demanded the co-operation of a human mother. For if our Lord took real human nature, he received his flesh from his mother, as much as any other human child. Now Mary's conception of the Incarnate Lord was of course the work of grace, the special activity of the Holy Spirit. But grace does not abolish the freedom of the human will. Catholics cannot agree with Luther when he says "Mary does nothing, God does (all)", but rather with St Augustine, who says, "God who created thee without thyself will not save thee without thyself". Mary played her part in the Incarnation by her faith in the message of the Angel, and her consent to offer herself for the fulfilment of the divine will. This is clear not only from her own words,

"Behold the handmaid of the Lord, be it unto me according to thy word", but also from St Elizabeth's encomium of her at the Visitation. "Blessed is she that believed. There shall be a performance of those things which were told her from the Lord." (Luke 1. 45—where Mary's belief is implicitly contrasted with the disbelief of Zacharias.) But the fact that Mary was not just the passive instrument but the free co-operator with God in bringing about the Incarnation means that the redemption of the world depended, in the divine condescension, on the consent of Mary. It would be vain to speculate as to whether, if Mary had refused, some other woman could have been found to fulfil the Divine purpose. For in Mary we see the culmination of God's dealing with Israel, fitting that people for the knowledge of him and his law and Divine purpose, revealing himself in special measure to those holy and humble men of heart who formed the little group of those who with Zacharias, Elizabeth, and Simeon were looking for the redemption of Israel. And it was in that circle that Mary was born and grew as the chosen vessel of Divine grace. Addressed by St Gabriel as "thou that art highly favoured", or as the word should be translated "endued with grace" (R.V. margin), or *plena gratia* ("full of grace") in the version of the Vulgate. It seems impossible therefore that any other woman than Mary could have been the human agent of the Incarnation. Consequently faithful Christians have regarded her with a gratitude which they cannot show to any other of the Saints.

As all Catholic doctrine is based on the divine revelation which has been handed down by the Church, but is sufficiently recorded in Holy Scripture, we rightly look for the position which Mary occupies in the New Testament. The narratives of our Lord's infancy, especially those of St Luke, are naturally full of his Mother, and the highest position is given to her in the records of the Annunciation and the Visitation including Elizabeth's greeting of her as "Blessed among women", and her wonder that the Mother of her Lord has come to visit her. This is answered by the Magnificat in which Mary with full consciousness of her "low estate" yet prophesies that all generations shall call her blessed, because the Lord has done to her great things. She is represented however as not fully understanding the nature and mission of her Son, especially perhaps at the finding of him in the Temple. But we

are told that she kept the words of the Holy Child and the events of his life and pondered them in her heart.[2]

During his earthly ministry she withdraws into the background, after playing a prominent part in the miracle of Cana which the Evangelist probably wishes to show was worked at her intercession, in spite of the apparent rebuke which was meant to test her faith, and at the same time to show her that the days of the intimacy of the home at Nazareth were over, and only to be renewed when his hour was come in the Passion and the new life beyond it. She is however mentioned as coming with his Brethren to seek Jesus when he was teaching the multitude. And it is on that occasion that, looking round on those gathered before him, he says, "Behold my mother and my brethren. For whosoever doeth the will of God, the same is my brother and my sister and mother."[3] And on another occasion when a woman of the crowd says, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee and the paps which thou hast sucked", he replies, "Yea rather blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it."[4] These utterances show that our Lord valued spiritual attachment to God above the closest physical ties. But the words need not be a rebuke even to his brethren although St John tells us that for a time they did not believe on him.[5] As to his mother it is quite clear from St Luke's narrative of the Infancy that she always heard the word of God, above all at the Annunciation, and kept the divine words and actions in her heart. But it may be true that even Mary had to learn that the work of the ministry must for a time separate our Lord from his earthly relations.

Mary appears again at the Cross when Simeon's prophecy of the sword piercing through her own soul is fulfilled, and it was to her that our Lord spoke the third of his seven words, in commending her to the beloved disciple to be his mother henceforth. There is however no recorded appearance of the risen Lord to her, probably because her faith needed no such assurance and she received the blessing pronounced by our Lord on those who have not seen and yet have believed,[6] but we see her in the company of the Apostles waiting in Jerusalem for the coming of the Holy Ghost.[7] Lastly there is the vision of the woman clothed with the sun, surrounded by the twelve stars and with the moon under her feet in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse. The woman is undoubtedly the symbol of the Church of the old covenant which continues as the Church of the Messiah who has already come. But it is difficult, if not im-

possible, to believe that it does not represent Mary also, in whom the Jewish Church reaches its culminating point and through whom it gave birth to the promised Messiah, "She brought forth a man child who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, and her child was caught up to God and to His throne."[8]

It is on these facts that the Mariology of the Church has been built up and developed. Some of that development indeed may have been erroneous and superstitious, and as such cannot claim to be guaranteed by the infallible teaching of the whole Catholic Church. But some developments can claim to be based on revealed fact and doctrine. Let us consider some of them.

First she is regarded as the second Eve. The parallel between Eve and Mary is made first by Justin Martyr, c. A.D. 150, "Eve a virgin receiving the word of the serpent brought forth disobedience and death, while Mary the Virgin receiving faith and joy answers 'Be it unto me according to thy word'."[9] Tertullian, c. A.D. 200, representing the tradition of the North African church writes, "Eve had believed the serpent, Mary believed Gabriel; the sin which the former committed by believing, the latter by believing has destroyed."[10] Irenaeus representing the tradition of Asia Minor and Rome, and slightly earlier than Tertullian, says of Eve that she became the cause of death, so Mary became the cause of salvation for herself and for the whole human race.[11] Epiphanius of Salamis in Cyprus, 320-400, draws the parallel between Eve and Mary, calling her the mother of all living (things).[12]

The greatest title given to Mary is however that of *Theotokos*, or Mother of God. This title became the watchword of St Cyril of Alexandria in his conflict with Nestorius and was canonized by the third oecumenical Council held at Ephesus in A.D. 430. The expression however is much older and can be traced back to Origen, and was used by St Athanasius, St Cyril of Jerusalem and by the Cappodocian Fathers. It does not of course mean that Mary is the Mother of our Lord's divine nature, but that she did bring into this world the one who was from all eternity the Son of God, the one eternal Person who chose Mary from whom to take his human flesh when he became man. Mary gave a human nature to the Eternal Son. She was not merely a channel through which a newly created nature passed, as the Gnostic Valentinus maintained. The title *Theotokos* therefore emphasizes the special privilege of Mary, which sets her far above all other creatures, as St Elizabeth surely

recognized when she said, "What is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come to me". What it does not do is to assign anything approaching divine nature to Mary, or in any sense to make her a goddess. Such words are utterly shocking to Catholics, who know that the difference between Mary and her Son is not merely great but is equivalent to the infinite chasm between the creature and the Creator.

Furthermore Mary is recognized as the mother of all Christian people from at least the time of Origen, who says, "No one will be able to understand the meaning (of St John's Gospel) if he has not leaned on the breast of Jesus and received from Jesus the one who has become his mother also. Because Christ lives in him, the words are said to Mary of him, 'Behold thy Son the Christ'."[13] This motherhood is perpetual, for the Incarnation is a permanent reality not a merely past event. Our Lord retains his human Nature in Heaven. Therefore Mary is still his Mother, but also the Mother of the Church which is his Body, the living organism of Christ's glorified human Nature and of each of its members, who are made her adopted, not her natural children, by their baptismal incorporation into the human Nature of her Son.

But a further question is, how does our Lady exercise this motherhood? The answer is by love, and by intercession. There can be no doubt that the Saints exercise charity, the crown of Christian virtues, in Heaven. And that charity which is primarily directed towards God is, as the New Testament teaches, empty and worthless if it does not include the love of man, specially of our fellow-members in the Body of Christ. And this love finds its chief (though not its only) expression, in the case of the Saints in Heaven, in intercession. In the form for the Commemoration of King Charles the prayer occurs that "by a careful imitation of this Thy Blessed Saint, and Martyrs that have gone before us, we may be made worthy to receive benefit by their prayers, which they, in communion with the Church Catholic, offer up unto Thee for that part of it here militant." But while many of the best Anglican theologians of the seventeenth century recognize the intercession of the Saints for the Church Militant in general (e.g., Andrews, Bull, and Richard Field), few would admit the lawfulness of invoking them directly, that is of asking them for their prayers. Bishop Forbes of Edinburgh (1634), however, says the practice is not to be condemned either as unlawful or as useless. After an exhaustive

examination of the Fathers he concludes "Let God alone be religiously adored; let Him alone be prayed to, through Christ, Who is the only and sole mediator, truly and properly speaking, between God and man. Let not the very ancient custom received in the universal Church, as well Greek and Latin, of addressing the Angels and Saints after the manner we have mentioned, be condemned or rejected as impious, nor even as vain and foolish."[14]

It has been urged however that we have no certainty that the Saints can hear our prayers, or that, if they are aware of the prayers of the Church in general, they are conscious of individual requests. In particular it has been maintained that it would be impossible for our Lady to hear every Hail Mary addressed to her, without ascribing to her something akin to divine omniscience.

It may be answered however that the Church neither in the East nor in the West has ever officially declared that the Saints are aware of our individual petitions. The Council of Trent is content with laying down that "it is good and useful to invoke them (the Saints) by way of supplication (*suppliciter*) and to take refuge in (*confugere ad*) their prayers support and help". It condemns only those who say that they ought not to be invoked, or that they do not pray for men. But it carefully refrains from asserting that they hear our individual petitions.

If however St Gregory and St Thomas are right in their speculation that the Saints in their contemplation of the eternal Word see all that is fitting for them of earthly affairs, it must be true that our Lady has a greater knowledge of them than all other saints. It may be difficult to believe that she hears every individual Hail Mary addressed to her, but we have no right to set limits to the heightened consciousness which must belong to those who enjoy the vision of God.

This consciousness, however, is that which belongs to a creature, and is by no means akin to the omniscience which is the peculiar prerogative of God himself. But no one could be accused of heresy, even on Western standards, if he thought that the devout saying of the Hail Mary brought him and his needs into the stream of effectual prayer made by our Lady, without her actual consciousness of all particular requests. There are other considerations however in favour of the view that the Saints hear us. There is actual evidence for this belief in the New Testament. Heb. 12. 1 says: "Therefore let us also being compassed about with so great a cloud

of witnesses ("martyrs", alluding to the heroes of faith in the preceding chapter) run with patience ("endurance") the race which is set before us", where the witnesses, though primarily witnesses to their faith suggest at least, as Westcott points out, "spectators" looking on at our earthly struggle in running the race appointed for us Christians. This is confirmed by the picture of the heavenly Jerusalem in the same chapter to which Christians on earth are now come, with the solemn assembly of the firstborn and the spirits of just men made perfect. (Verse 23.)

In addition to this there are special prerogatives which have been assigned to Mary.

First, the character of her conception. Her freedom from actual sin has with some few exceptions been recognized by all the Fathers. St Augustine for instance says: "All have sinned except the Holy Virgin Mary, concerning whom for the honour of the Lord I wish no question to be raised at all, when we are treating of sins."[15] St Chrysostom is the only serious exception. Chrysostom says that she came with his brethren to our Lord to show her power over him. He stigmatizes their combined conduct as "recklessness" and calls our Lord's words on that occasion a considerable rebuke.[16] And he has a parallel passage on the Miracle of Cana. "She (Mary) wished to make herself more illustrious through her Son. And perhaps she had some human feeling, like His brethren who said to Him 'Show Thyself to the World.' When (parents) require anything unseasonable and cause hindrance in any spiritual matter it is unsafe to obey. . . . She claimed to direct Him in all things—wherefore He rebuked her, saying: 'Woman, what have I to do with thee?' Instructing her for the future not to do the like.' But the holiness of Mary has indeed been recognized in all Christian tradition, especially in the East, as to her freedom from actual sin. She is in the Eastern hymn "higher than the Cherubim, more glorious than the Seraphim", and is constantly called the All Holy.

The question of her conception, however, was raised explicitly only in the West, about the time of the early schoolmen such as St Bernard and St Anselm. These Saints, followed by St Thomas Aquinas, recognized that like St John Baptist and the prophet, Jeremiah, she was sanctified in the womb. They denied, however, that she was free from original sin from the moment of her conception, on the ground that this would derogate from the unique position of our Lord as alone without sin, and conceived without

sin in virtue of his virginal conception. They also stressed the fact that Mary, like all other members of the human race, needed redemption, whereas if her soul was never stained with sin, she would not have needed a Redeemer. Duns Scotus, however, maintains that Mary was, in fact, preserved from original sin. But this does not mean that she needed no Redeemer; for her preservation from original sin was due solely to the grace of the Mediator, our Lord. He regards this view, however, as probable rather than certain, because it seems "probable to attribute to Mary what is more excellent, namely that she was never an enemy to God". The doctrine, therefore, remained only a pious opinion in the Roman Church till Pius IX in 1854 defined that Mary was in the first instance of her conception, by the singular grace and privilege of Almighty God, by his foresight (*intuitu*) of the merits of Christ Jesus the Saviour of the human race, preserved free from all stain of original guilt.[17]

Anglicans, of course, are not bound by this Papal decree, and many would agree with Dollinger that it is a question on which nothing has been revealed, but they would hesitate to reject it, as the Old Catholics did at Bonn, as a new doctrine contrary to the tradition of the first thirteen centuries. They would rather agree with Dr Liddon's amendment that it is not an Article of the Catholic Faith, which leaves it open to be held as a pious opinion. There is much to be said in favour of this. The doctrine may be defective in scriptural foundation. But one of the values of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is that it seems to correct the unwholesome doctrine (deriving from St Augustine) that the act of human generation in fallen man is necessarily accompanied by sin.

All orthodox Christians must believe that Mary received a unique sanctification to fit her for her high privilege, and this is implied in the Angelic salutation "Hail full of grace" (which seems the best rendering of *kecharitomene*). The question is, when did she receive it? Certainly prior to the Annunciation. If ordinary Christians receive sanctifying grace in their baptism as infants, which frees them from the guilt or stain of original sin, and there was nothing analagous to baptism in the case of our Lady, it would seem most natural that she should have received that grace at the first moment of her existence rather than at any subsequent moment, and in virtue of that grace was never at enmity with God who chose her to be the Mother of his Son.

Dr Pusey in a letter to Cardinal Newman found nothing inherently difficult in the doctrine of an infusion of grace at the first moment of Mary's conception.[18]

But there are certain titles ascribed to our Lady in modern times which may rightly give us pause. In the Roman communion Mary has been constantly called the Mediator of all graces. This somewhat startling expression may be understood in two senses.

The first of these presents no difficulty. It means that Mary as the Mother of the Incarnate Lord is the human instrument which God used to bring about the Incarnation, and therefore all the graces which flow from the Incarnate Son.

In the second sense, however, Mary is regarded as the means by which our Lord now bestows all his graces. It is recognized that her mediation is indeed one of intercession, and also proceeds through the one real Mediator, Jesus Christ. Like the mediation of the Saints in general, it can be understood only in a secondary sense, according to which any intercessory prayer is an act of mediation. But the idea that all graces are due to the intercession of Mary cannot be clearly traced to any Father or theologian earlier than the twelfth century when St Bernard calls Mary the divinely appointed aqueduct of grace. In the following century Richard of St Lawrence terms her the neck of the Mystical Body of Christ, an expression explained by Pius X as meaning "that by which all spiritual gifts are communicated to His (Christ's) mystical body". This teaching was confirmed by Benedict XV when he approved the Mass of Mary Mediator of all Graces. In any case this title seems most misleading and likely to militate against the unique mediation of our Lord.

Another title has been given to our Lady, though chiefly in Post-Tridentine theology, namely that of Co-redemptrix, or Co-redeemer. It is assigned to her mainly from the fact that she stood by the Cross on Calvary. She is therefore regarded as having co-operated with our Lord in his Sacrifice. But St Ambrose long ago pointed out that the Passion of Christ did not need any assistance.[19] That Mary had some share in the redemptive sacrifice of our Lord is indeed clear from Simeon's prophecy "a sword shall pierce through thine own soul also".[20] And we may remember that St Paul claims to fill up what is wanting in the sufferings of Christ for his Body's sake. If the Apostles and other Saints throughout the history of the Church can regard their sufferings borne in union with those of our Lord as benefiting the Church, much more can the same be

said of the sorrows of our Lady at the time of the Passion. But no New Testament writer ever suggested that our Lord's work in offering the sacrifice for the sins of the whole world needed completion from some other source. All that can be truly said in this connection is that the sufferings and prayers of the Saints can help in bringing the grace won by our Lord to bear on the needs of some particular soul.

It is hoped that this discussion may clear up some misconceptions on the subject of Mariology, that is to say the doctrine about Mary which is found in the Scriptures and the teaching of the universal Church. It is of course utterly distinct from Mariolatry, which means any doctrine which would give to Mary the divine worship which is due only to our Lord as the Incarnate God. The best way of correcting such errors is not to neglect or to belittle devotion to his Mother, but to set forth her rightful place in the economy of redemption, and the rightful attitude of Christian people to the Mother of their Lord (as is done by Bishop Pearson in the famous passage quoted at the beginning of this essay). We must never forget that the orthodox Christians of the East are never tired of praising the *Theotokos* or Mother of God, and that if we hope for ultimate reunion with them, as with Catholics of the Roman obedience, we must show as Anglicans a real understanding of her place in the mystery of redemption, and her position as exalted by God himself above all his other creatures, "higher than the Seraphim, more glorious than the Cherubim", because she is the "Bearer of the Eternal Word", yet all the time remaining a creature separated from the divine nature by the gulf fixed between the creature and the creator.

1 Art iii. ed 1854, p.261. 2 Luke 2. 19, 51. 3 Mark 3. 34.
4 Luke 11. 27. 5 7. 5. 6 John 20. 29. 7 Acts 1. 14.
8 Rev. 12. 5. 9 *Dialogus c. Trypho.* 101 10 *De carne Christi* xvii.
11 *Adv. Haer*, iii 22. 12 *Adv. Haer*, 78. 18. 2.
13 Ev. Johannis I. 6. 14 *Works*, ii 211, 213.
15 *De Natura et Gratia*, 42. 16 In Matt. Hom. XLIV, M.P.G. 57-465.
17 Denziger, 1641. 18 *Life*, by H. P. Liddon, iv, 164.
19 *De Institutione Virginis* 7. 49. M. P. L. 16. 333. 20 Luke 2. 35.

EPISCOPALIANS AND THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION

F. GOLDIE

THE FOLLOWING notes are written to indicate that it is inconsistent with the claims and mission of the Scottish Episcopal Church to share in the celebrations of the fourth centenary of the Scottish Reformation in 1560.

The Episcopal Church acknowledges her indebtedness to the Reformation. Indeed she rejoices in the inheritance brought to her through the work of many reformers. In particular she remembers with thanksgiving translators of the Bible, and those who strove to make available the treasures of the Scriptures. The biblical inheritance is enshrined in the liturgical traditions which were greatly enhanced by the labours of many faithful reformers and scholars. Gratitude for the Prayer Book must take into account the work of those who strove to make the services of the Church understood by the people. There was need for reform in the government of the Church, a reform which would restore the apostolic ministry to its true and rightful place in the life of the Church. Scottish churchmen acknowledge with gratitude the work of many reformers by whose labours a free and constitutional episcopacy has been preserved. In addition to these, and much else, the precious treasure of religious freedom and tolerance has been cherished.

While remembering with gratitude the legacy of the reformation, and many reforming teachers, Churchmen can hardly be expected to acknowledge with rejoicing the revolutionary acts of 1560 which overthrew the hierarchy and set up a completely new ministry in which the imposition of hands and any kind of ordination was specifically excluded. Nor can they rejoice in the denunciation of the festivals of the Church and the observance of holy days as "abominations", while churches throughout the land were being turned into preaching houses or destroyed because they were no longer required.

The events of 1560 in Scotland brought about an ecclesiastical situation which was described by the preacher at the Convention of Leith twelve years later when he spoke of "the foul deformity and desolation of your churches and temples which are more like sheep cots than the house of God". A genuine effort to bring some kind of order into the chaotic condition of the Church emerged in the plan

to restore some kind of episcopal oversight. It is a mistake to imagine that all those who served as titular bishops in this period merited the rude description given to some of them in the title "tulchan bishops". The attempt to bring into the life of the Scottish Church a true and valid episcopacy reached its culmination when in 1610 three of the titular bishops received consecration in London.

The events of 1560

John Knox had been at work in Scotland for eight months in the previous year and he had gathered round him a considerable number of like-minded men. For more than two years a number of reforming barons had been at work, bound together in a common desire to achieve a reformation after the pattern of the reformed Church in England. This group came to be known as the "Lords of the Congregation". They were ready to welcome John Knox when he arrived at Leith in May 1559 and to organize support for his reforming activities throughout the remaining months of that year. The army of the regent, Mary of Guise, either was not strong enough to deal with the rebels, or preferred to avoid a major conflict. At any rate various "engagements" between the armies of the regent and the reformers were never very decisive. The activities of the reformers wherever they were to be found, included the "cleansing" of the churches at Perth, Coupar-Angus, St Andrews, and Edinburgh. The incitement of the mob must surely be laid to the charge of John Knox, whose preaching inspired the destruction of the synagogues of Satan. The reformers were behind him in this, for they defended such wanton destruction as in accordance with the law of God "who plainly commands idolatry and all monuments of the same to be destroyed and abolished".

At the beginning of 1560 the reformers were in possession of Edinburgh, and were secure in that they had gained assurance from Queen Elizabeth of England that she would give her fullest support to drive out the French soldiers who had come to support the regent. It was entirely in her interests to act as she did in the sending of English forces by land and sea. It is of interest also to note that she sent money to assist the rebels in their work. The French troops in their fortifications at Leith were being besieged, and there was little the regent could do.

Wearied with the strife, the queen-regent sickened and died. In her death-bed speech to the barons she professed her deep love for

Scotland and her grief at the distractions and miseries of the war.

Meanwhile, in these months of uncertainty, the work of destruction went on in Scotland, as for example in Aberdeen where the Dominican and Carmelite monasteries were destroyed.

The tragic death of the regent at the age of forty-five marks the end of the struggle, but not the end of the intolerance and vindictiveness of John Knox, who persuaded the Lords of the Congregation not to allow her Christian burial according to the rites of her Church. Four weeks after death the Treaty of Edinburgh was negotiated. The reformers had triumphed.

The Scots Confession of Faith

Two documents of very great importance made their appearance in the summer of 1560 from the same group of authors, John Winram, John Knox, John Spottiswoode, John Willock, John Row, and John Douglas. The first is the Scots Confession of Faith, the second the Book of Discipline, which we shall notice in due course.

The Scottish Parliament which met in August 1560 received the Scots Confession of Faith, and accepted it by a considerable majority. It is difficult to find reasons to justify the silence of Churchmen who failed to speak out against the acceptance of the document. It may be that the moderation of its language suggested that there was still an opportunity to accomplish a true reformation. Whatever the reason, there was little opposition. The Scots Confession is a Calvinistic creed which approximates to the words of the Apostles' Creed and the Articles of the Church of England. One of the articles of the Confession declares that civil magistrates are God's vicegerents to whom chiefly pertain the reformation and purgation of religion.

Three Acts of Parliament

A few days after the acceptance of the Scots Confession the Parliament passed three Acts. The first abolished the jurisdiction of the pope within the realm, and the authority of bishops and prelates to act in his name. The second repealed all legislation inconsistent with the Scots Confession. The third enacted that no one should administer the sacraments except with the authority of "the Congregation". Declaring that "saying mass and baptizing according to the Roman ritual" was "wicked idolatry", the act forbade the saying

or hearing of mass under pain of confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment from the kingdom for the second, and death for the third.

Thus the supremacy of the Roman see was overthrown, the offices and ceremonies formerly used at Baptism and the Eucharist abolished, and the clergy forbidden to minister unless admitted.

The intolerance of the Acts of 1560 against papists finds frequent echoes in words and deeds in subsequent years.

The abolition of papal jurisdiction by Act of Parliament in Scotland virtually swept away the old hierarchy. Whereas in England it is estimated that some ninety-eight per cent of the clergy conformed to the Reformed Catholic Church of England at the Reformation, comparatively few agreed to conform in Scotland. The very large number of vacant parishes and the fact that there were only about two hundred and fifty ministers of the new Church in Scotland eleven years after the Reformation, supports the view that very few agreed to serve in the post-reformation Church. In England there was no break in the ministerial succession, nor any intention not to establish "a form of pure and sincere teaching agreeable to God's Word, and the true doctrine of the Catholic and Apostolic Church" (English Act of 1543). The reformers in Scotland were most emphatic that the ministry now to be set up was an entirely new creation, professing no historic connection with the past. The outward act of ordination, the "laying on of hands", was disowned.

The First Book of Discipline

Like the Scots Confession, the First Book of Discipline was the work of the six Johns (Winram, Knox, Spottiswoode, Willock, Row, and Douglas). Though it was submitted to a convention of nobility, and given a measure of support, many of the barons were unlikely to favour a document which would have deprived them of their ill-gotten gains in the estates taken from the Church. The Book was never brought before the Scottish Parliament, nor accepted by civil authority. Nevertheless, it is an important document. It shows clearly the plan of the reformers, and it stands in the historic succession which passes through the Second Book of Discipline of 1581 and culminates in the establishment of Presbyterianism of 1592. Presbyterians who look to 1560 as marking the foundation of Scottish Presbyterianism have some justification for so doing. We

must note, however, that the Church set up in 1560 was not Presbyterian, any more than it was Episcopalian. It was a provisional protestant Church.

The Book of Discipline was divided into nine heads.

1. The festivals of the Church, including Christmas and Easter, Saints' Days, and fasting days are to be "utterly abolished from this realm". Civil magistrates are called upon to deal with "the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations".

2. Sitting at the Lord's Table for the Communion is prescribed.

3. "Abbeys, chapels, monkeries, friaries, nunneries, chantries, cathedral churches, colleges, other than such as are presently parish churches or schools, to be utterly suppressed in all places of this realm." A "pitiful vastation" in the destruction of ecclesiastical buildings took place.

4. The method of selecting ministers is described. The people are to elect, and a service of admission with sermon is to take place, but there is to be no ordination by the laying on of hands. "Other ceremonies than the public approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister that the person there presented is appointed to serve that church, we cannot approve; for albeit the apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using of the ceremony we judge not to be necessary."

5. The patrimony of the Church is to be used for the payment of stipends to ministers and teachers, and to provide for the poor. There are to be three grades of stipends, to superintendents, ministers, and readers. The good intention governing the administration of the income when received, was effectively defeated by those who had taken possession of church lands and now regarded them as their own private property.

6. The reformers express grief that the new landowners have turned "the tyranny of priests" into "the tyranny of lord or laird".

7. The censuring of offenders was as rigorous as if not more rigorous than in the medieval Church. A sentence of excommunication was to be passed upon the offender by the minister, by consent of the elders and deacons. "After which sentence no person may have any kind of communication with him (his wife and family only excepted) in eating, drinking, buying, selling, saluting or conferring with him, unless the same be licensed by the ministry."

8. There is no question of ordination to the eldership to life-long duties. Appointments are to be held annually "lest men by long

continuance in those offices presume upon the liberty of the church".

9. The Lord's Supper is to be administered quarterly on the first Sundays of March, June, September, and December, "that the superstitious observation of times may be avoided". Instructions are included about preaching and teaching, ministering Baptism, solemnizing marriage, and burying the dead. Prayers for the dead are forbidden.

It is further declared that papistical priests have no power or authority to minister the sacraments "because that in their mouth is not the sermon of exhortation; and it is neither the clipping of crowns, the crossing of fingers, the blowing of the dumb dogs, called the bishops, neither yet the laying on of their hands, which maketh true ministers."

The Book of Common Order

The Book of Common Order, or Knox's Liturgy, was normative in the Church of Scotland for about eighty years. It provided a "guide" to the minister in conducting services. The Scottish Edition of 1562 carries the commendation of the Assembly "that an uniform order should be kept in the administration of the sacraments, solemnisation of marriage, etc., according to the kirk of Geneva".

As the year 1560 drew to a close the First General Assembly met in Edinburgh. Their business appeared to be to deal with those who were unwilling to conform. The church at Restalrig was ordered to be cast down and utterly destroyed as a monument of idolatry, and a number of individuals were named and marked down for punishment because they had the temerity to celebrate mass or attend the celebrations.

The year of the "Reformation" saw the overthrow in Scotland of the primitive doctrine of the Christian ministry and the renunciation of the old ritual in which the Church had commemorated the life and actions of the Saviour. In the new Church there was no place for fast and festival, an ordered hierarchy, or a consecrated priesthood, while the important truths centred in the sacramental way were obscured or disregarded.

The Witness of the Episcopal Church in Scotland

The Scottish Episcopal Church has restored to Scotland much that was set aside in 1560. We may note in particular, (1) The

Apostolic Ministry, (2) The Bible in Public Worship, and (3) The Sacramental Way, particularly the Holy Communion.

1. The restoration of episcopacy in 1610 brought back to Scotland that continuity with the apostolic ministry which had been broken in 1560. Three of the Scottish titular bishops were consecrated by the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester in the chapel of London House on 21 October 1610. The events of the National Uprising in 1637-8 made it necessary to restore the succession at the Restoration. Four bishops were consecrated in Westminster Abbey in December 1661, and on their return to Scotland they consecrated others who had been carefully chosen for the vacant dioceses. In the dark days of the eighteenth century, the Scottish Episcopal Church (now disestablished, and for much of the century subjected to restrictive penal laws) maintained the succession, though at times its bishops were obliged to celebrate "with mournful privacy the most august solemnity of the Catholic Church". Scottish Churchmen recall with pride the opportunity of imparting the Episcopal succession to the Church in America, through the consecration in a room in Aberdeen of Samuel Seabury on 14 November 1784, thus in Bishop Seabury's words "God's Providence has supported them, and continued their succession under various and great difficulties, that a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy may from them pass into the western world".

The Scottish Episcopal Church believes that the Apostolic Ministry is God's gift to his Church, and in that belief she is at one with Christians of the first centuries who lived and acted in the same belief. Continuity and unity are the keynotes of Episcopal succession in the conflict with heresy and schism in the early centuries. When the dark shadows of revolution and schism spread across the Church in the sixteenth century, a Reformed Catholicism survived, holding fast to the precious heritage, preserved and active in the Apostolic Ministry, which still expresses itself in pastoral leadership, in defending the faith, in seeking to preserve unity, and in striving to restore what has been lost.

2. The Churchman who considers the place of the Bible in public worship thinks of the lectionary, the epistles and gospels, psalms and canticles in the setting of the ordered worship of the Church, and in the pattern of the Christian Year. The restoration of the observance of the principal days of the Christian Year which

took place during the First Episcopacy was overthrown by the Presbyterians some years later. The Prayer Book which gave expression to all these was at the same time set aside.

Scottish Churchmen rejoice in the restoration of liturgical worship, and in the place of the Christian Year, and they recall the story of that restoration during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Scottish Prayer Book now in use marks the measure of what has been achieved.

3. It has been evident in recent discussion about reunion in Scotland that there is a fundamental difficulty between presbyterianism and episcopalianism which has not been adequately discussed; it is the question of the priesthood. The notion of priestly activity stems from the conviction that the Church is the means through which Christ lives for the continuance of the work begun in the days of his flesh. That work is always redemptive, and the sacraments are means whereby the benefits of Christ's passion are applied to the needs of the world. For this work he sent forth the apostles, and in their stead, their successors in the apostolic ministry. In all the redemptive activity of the ordained ministry, in preaching the word and ministering the sacraments, the purpose is ever the same, to reconcile man to God. The Sacramental Way finds its clearest expression in the celebration of Holy Communion. The priest who celebrates acts as one who has been ordained and set apart by a bishop who was himself consecrated and ordained and who acts with due authority. The penitent assured of God's forgiveness is bidden to draw near with faith to receive the Sacrament. Baptism and Confirmation (with all that is involved in the Sacraments themselves and in the preparation) have their special places within the Sacramental Way in relation to the Holy Communion.

The restoration of the Holy Communion to its central place in the life and worship of the Church has been achieved after many years of patient pastoral work and teaching.

Much has been restored and preserved in the traditions of the Scottish Episcopal Church, but if her mission is to be accomplished there is need for a far more vigorous missionary strategy. The Church in her corporate capacity must rise out of obscurity into prominence if she is to take her rightful position in the life of Scotland.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland has not advanced a considerable way from the situation in

1560. The Second Helvetic Confession, representing the mind of a number of "Reformed" Churches, declared that "the Apostles ordained pastors and teachers in all Churches by the command of Christ, who by such as have succeeded them have taught and governed the Church unto this day". In order to preserve this succession the Helvetic Confession advised, "let them be ordained of the presbyters with public prayer and the laying on of hands". Following this advice superintendents and ministers meeting in St Andrews in 1566 agreed to introduce the "laying on of hands" in ordination of the ministers. The Second Book of Discipline of 1581 provides for due examination and election of ordinands, after which the ceremonies of ordination are to take place. These are fasting, earnest prayer, and the imposition of hands of the eldership. Presbyterian scholars have argued for the view that the Christian ministry derives from the apostolate as one of Christ's primary institutions, and that the Presbyterate is the fundamental order of ministry, containing within itself all powers of ministry which are transmissible; thus ordination is by the ministry itself, and cannot arise out of the flock. Nevertheless "the grace of ordination is given, not by the ordaining ministry, but by Christ Himself through that Ministry".

Without entering upon a discussion of this particular argument, it is of interest to note that the 1560 declaration against the imposition of hands in ordination has been superseded within the Presbyterian Church.

There has also been a considerable change of outlook on the place and significance of the Holy Communion. Dr John MacLeod of Govan, in 1893, read a paper to assert the position "which ought to be authoritatively claimed for the Holy Communion as the distinctive and divinely-appointed Lord's Day Service of the Church". Certainly there are churches in which the Holy Communion is celebrated every Sunday, and it is now increasingly common to find the Holy Communion as the principal service at Easter, Christmas, and Whitsunday in Presbyterian churches. Holy Week and Good Friday are now generally observed.

The doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice has received sympathetic and careful consideration by Presbyterian scholars. In a lecture he gave on "The Eucharistic Offering", Dr Donald Baillie referred to discussions he had had under the auspices of the World Council of Churches on the subject of intercommunion. "In the course of these

discussions I have become aware that one of the main obstacles to intercommunion between the Churches is the suspicion that different Churches mean different things by the sacrament of Holy Communion. Some regard the sacrament as a sacrifice and to them that is quite essential and central, while others repudiate that interpretation altogether. I want to suggest that apart from the Church of Rome, which remains entirely outside the World Council of Churches, the difference between the churches on the question of eucharistic sacrifice may not be so extreme as is often supposed."

There are wholesome influences at work within the Presbyterian Church of Scotland which may in good time accomplish a good work and lead us all nearer to the time when we can be truly one in faith and order in the reunited Church of Scotland

The way towards this desirable end is not by commemorating the events of 1560, but by recalling what has been maintained and recovered in the life and worship of our own Church, while acknowledging that the Presbyterian Church of Scotland has made considerable progress away from the inheritance of 1560.

CHURCH ORDER AND UNITY*

Some Reflections on Recent Ecumenical Literature

GUSTAF WINGREN

THOSE who are directly participant in any course of events are rarely able to evaluate correctly the several factors involved. For instance, in the 1920's it was the outburst of practical co-operation between the churches which seemed to portend much for the future; but later events showed that the real significance lay with certain products of the scholar's desk, which at the time were being read with much misgiving and suspicion. Similarly we may guess that the essentially new and vigorous factor in modern ecumenical thinking will turn out to be the systematic analysis of the relation between Christ and his Church, undertaken as a result of the Faith and Order Conference at Lund in 1952. Theological study is not a process which gives quick results: maturity comes slowly and from behind closed doors. Six years have passed since Lund; the commissions are at work on their research but so far none of them has published a word. Meanwhile, a new, bold, and entirely practical note has come into the inter-church discussions. Without waiting for the findings of the theological commissions and leaving on one side some intricate theoretical problems, representatives of various local churches can be found discussing together the conditions for amalgamation into one body. There is indeed a rudimentary virtue in having this flood of reunions, achieved as well as proposed; a flood that now dominates the ecumenical scene.

Many of these schemes do not involve any theological problems. When several Lutheran churches come together, or two large Presbyterian bodies give up their independent status and form themselves into one communion, even though problems of finance, buildings, and leadership may be acute, there are as a rule no problems about doctrine. Much more interesting from our point of view are the unions between those who have in the past differed on some theological point, whose original separation was due to a real conflict, and whose recent reconciliation must indicate a change in their opinions and attitudes. If we examine the unions, or proposed unions, of this type during the last two decades, we find that they fit

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into a fairly well-defined pattern. With few exceptions the Anglicans form one side of the agreement; the other side or sides consist often of such denominations as have shown greater laxity during the last century in matters of ministerial and ecclesiastical order, and correspondingly have had a strong revivalist element. So we have a church with a strong sense of order confronting one that is relatively formless. Occasionally Lutheranism has appeared at these negotiations, if only as one of the parties to the discussion; but never has its strange system been absorbed into the new organism.[1]

No reunion has taken place, or scheme come up for consideration, in which the Anglican Church is involved, without the subject of episcopacy coming to the fore. The other churches are not, it is true, made to suffer the indignity of having the re-ordination of their ministry made a condition of reunion; but nevertheless it is made sure that the newly-organized church has an episcopate in the "Apostolic Succession" and a generation later it will have a ministry which is entirely episcopally ordained. There is no need to insist upon the doctrine that episcopacy is necessary to a valid sacrament, since all that is vital is to be found in the Ordinal; there is a rite which takes place, but which each may interpret as he will. If anyone wants to think that episcopacy is not in principle a necessity, let him think so—it matters not since all priests will soon be ordained by a bishop anyway. If, however, anyone wants to think that episcopacy is essential, then the whole of the external order will soon be in line with his dogma, although it cannot be found in black and white in any confessional document. The newly-constituted church takes over the curiously muddled attitude which has characterized the Church of England since the last century: individuals can cherish an opinion about the *absolutely essential* marks of the Church which cannot be found in any of their official documents. The Church of England nowhere formulates a doctrine of the "Apostolic Succession"; it has, however, a Prayer Book which makes it possible for the individual to maintain such a doctrine. As long as the Prayer Book is followed he can adhere to his theory; he does not need to have it expressed as an article of belief when he has it enacted as a rite.

It would, however, be an over-simplification to say that in unions of this type an Episcopal church confronts one without a definite order and imposes its own upon it. If we look back to the first centuries of the post-Reformation era, we find the rôles reversed.

The Anglican divines of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were practically Lutheran in that they regarded the form of the ministry and other matters of external order as subject to considerations of expediency; because they were not ordered in the Scriptures they could be altered. A Presbyterian on the other hand has a definite teaching about the ordering of the ministry and must believe, if he will be true to his historical roots, that a true church must have no bishops but have elders. Similarly a Congregationalist believes that a modern church must be like the communities described in the New Testament, even in details of organization. Thus when Presbyterianism and Congregationalism are seen in historical perspective, it is they who find rules for church order in the text of the Bible, it is they who must be rigid in these matters. Originally Anglicanism was as free as Lutheranism: both rejected the attempt to find rules for the ordering of the Church in the Bible. It would be interesting to investigate why and how Anglicanism gradually changed its position until it produced the dogma that the bishop is the guarantee for the true life of the Church. Undoubtedly the bitter conflicts with the Presbyterians played their part in this. Every protagonist runs the risk of becoming an inverted image of his opponent.

But even in its modern, somewhat fossilized and staid shape, Anglicanism preserves its former freedom from dogmatism precisely in the absence of an article of belief concerning succession. Tradition is valued, but there is no grim determination to argue from Bible verses. It is rare indeed to find an informed Anglican who will maintain that "bishop, priest, and deacon" is precisely the grading of the ministry enjoined upon us by the Pastoral Epistles. It is realized that an argument merely taken from Bible texts will return like a boomerang and demolish Anglicanism's own position; other grounds are therefore sought for maintaining the necessity of the episcopate, principally the unchanging tradition of the Church. Thus equipped, Anglicans step out to meet the other parties, and these by comparison appear to be formless and without traditional structure. Although the Presbyterian Church, especially in its Scottish homeland, does incline towards the view that the acceptance of elders and rejection of bishops is demanded by simple loyalty to the dictates of Scriptures, in fact both Presbyterians and Congregationalists have on the whole given up the view that the Bible prescribes on matters of Church order and government and

have accepted the more reasonable idea that these are merely questions of convenience. In the reunion plans no one demands of them any assent to a theory of the essential nature of episcopacy; they can moreover bring with them into the new church something of their own presbyteral and congregational order. In Ceylon it seems as if even the Baptists are to contribute, as one element among many.[2] In such circumstances, those churches which have been relatively uninfluenced by tradition can quite easily resign themselves to an episcopal order, which spreads its wings protectively over all.

A further point to be noted is almost of a psychological nature. In these non-episcopal communions the revivalist element has been strong. During the nineteenth century an individualistic, spontaneous type of piety was often the ideal. An emphasis on this kind of spirituality often led to an overtaxing of the individual's own inner powers and produced a longing for order, for an ordered ministry and an ordered liturgy—a longing which in our own times is finding its fulfilment. In his book, *The Household of God*, Bishop Lesslie Newbigin of the Church of South India maintains that in ecumenical relations there are not simply two types of thinking—the "Catholic" and the "Protestant"—but that the problem is rather threefold, involving also the "Pentecostal" type. Thus he opens his doors to the revivalist movements all over the world, to groups which in many places are prepared to embrace a mild form of the "Catholic" order, preferably a somewhat diluted Anglicanism.[3] It should be remembered in this connection that Bishop Newbigin is both a leader in Faith and Order and chairman of the International Missionary Council, and that the integration of these two bodies is proceeding in spite of all opposition.

Lutherans have not yet been involved in any unions of this kind. Occasionally they have taken part in the discussions, as the printed reports witness; those between the new Church of South India and various Lutheran bodies are not yet completely broken off and it is quite possible that they may be restarted. Nevertheless it is clear that in this kind of atmosphere the Lutherans feel themselves little at home. As a rule it appears as if Lutherans are strict dogmatists and, as far as confessional writings go, legalists, inclined to demand from the opposite party agreement to certain doctrinal propositions. It is not the intention here to defend contemporary Lutheranism from these accusations or to acknowledge them to be just; the

present interest lies in the fact that in Lutheranism matters of Church order occupy a subordinate place. According to this position differences and variations in the external ordering of the Church do not disturb its true unity: nor does agreement and conformity on these matters create one. It is this open and unconstrained characteristic of original Lutheranism that needs to be stressed in the present situation, dominated as it is by questions of Church order. When communions which lack our freedom in this matter and which are beginning to doubt the absolute validity of their own form and are becoming weary of revivalism, when they are confronted by an ordered and historic hierarchy, they are easily tempted to believe that unity can be achieved merely by conforming in matters of order. The line of reasoning begins with the assertion that a certain ordering must be the "right" one and all that is necessary is to find which. Such an assertion can never be made by Lutherans; they will refuse to talk about anything on such a level being "right" and can without irritation accept variations. Perhaps this is something which can be of practical use in the ecumenical field; at any rate it deserves at least theoretical consideration.

"It is sufficient for true unity", declares the famous seventh article of the Augsburg Confession, "to be in agreement concerning the evangelical doctrine and the administration of the sacraments." It must be understood that sacraments in this declaration do not include any rite of ordination, neither those practised in the Roman Church nor any corresponding acts within Lutheranism, neither ordination of priests nor consecration of bishops. Since it was not necessary to strive for conformity on such a level, it was possible on the one hand to proceed without the co-operation of a bishop to ordain priests to perform that which was necessary in the Church (preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments), and on the other hand to appeal to a priest ordained by a Roman bishop and urge him to obey Christ (preach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments). Whether a priest was ordained by a bishop or not, he had only one function: to fulfil the commands of Christ; and therein consists the true unity of the Church. Their priesthood is not identical in as much as their act of ordination differed in this particular; in this matter admittedly they are not one, but this has no bearing on the true unity of the Church. The difference can remain without affecting the issue. There is no such thing as the "unification of the ministries" to quote the modern catchword of ecumenical discussions. That is why

the Lutheran churches of the sixteenth century differed among themselves over the actual existence of the episcopal ministry. The twenty-eighth article of the Augsburg Confession, which is often wrongly interpreted in this connection, does not maintain that episcopacy is essential; faced with the fact that bishops exist, it declares what are their duties according to the Gospel. These in no way differ from the obligations of the parish priest. The difference between the bishop and the priest is one of human arrangement not of divine institution. Consequently every church can itself decide if its organization will follow the episcopal pattern or not. Difference on this point *does not mean a breach in unity;* the true unity of the Church remains unimpared in spite of these variations in order. Unity springs from the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments, the things performed by the ministry in all its forms.

Such theological declarations have had great influence on the history of Lutheranism; the varying forms of actual Lutheran churches to-day are proof of their application. Some have bishops, some have not; some have synods, some have not; some have diocesan chapters, some have not. Yet in the midst of this diversity they have a clear sense of mutual unity, so that no one from outside can come in and persuade any member of the family that it alone is a true church and that its fellows are defective.

However, there is another theological position, equally clearly expressed in the confessional writings, which has not been so clearly acted upon. The first page of the Formula of Concord places with astonishing clarity all confessional writings on the same level; all creeds and confessions are defined simply as expositions of Scripture. Thus it follows that nothing written after the Bible, not even the Apostolic or Nicene creeds, can claim to be the exposition of Scripture for any other age than *that in which it was written;* we now are still free to test their utility as clarifications of Scripture for us and our time. We are moreover obliged to test them in this way: "The above mentioned creeds and confessions are not judges, as is the Holy Bible, but only witnesses and expositors which show how, with reference to certain disputed questions, the Holy Scriptures have been interpreted and expounded in the church of God at different times by those then living. . ." The church whose confessions contain such declarations and which at the same time takes upon itself to declare the Gospel to its own age, is clearly not in a

position, when confronted by another church, to demand that the other subscribe to any confessional writings. "To be in agreement on questions of evangelical doctrine. . ." (i.e. the unity necessary to avoid division) must mean something other than possession of a common collection of historical documents. If two modern churches both obviously expound and interpret the Gospel of Christ in preaching and teaching, then they are "in agreement on evangelical doctrine" even if their histories are different and even if they, as a consequence of this, do not have the same confessional writings. To demand of another church adherence to a certain sixteenth-century confession is not vastly different from requiring an act of ordination that took place in the sixteenth century. In each case the church is being treated as if it was primarily the guardian of a deposit.

It cannot be claimed that the Lutheran churches of this century have clearly seen how open a position they can adopt in ecumenical matters. They have not drawn upon their own treasury but instead have been captivated by their own isolated past; now they find themselves in the twentieth century, in the midst of a maze of re-union proposals, based throughout on the idea of conformity in Church order, a conformity which Lutheranism has never required even in its own household and family. Because of this it can perhaps assist other traditions to do some immediate theological re-thinking.

This is a matter of urgency. The more earnestly endeavours are made to derive the proposed new ministerial order from one central tenet, e.g. the Bible, faith in Christ, or some other common element, the more disastrous in the long run will be the consequences for us all. The most significant of the discussions are those now taking place in Great Britain between the Anglicans and the Presbyterians. Admittedly the declared aim is a closer fellowship rather than organic unity, but the questions that are under review—the introduction of elders into the Anglican Church and of bishops into the Presbyterian—are of such scope that organic unity itself must be the next step. During the negotiations several theologians have published weighty contributions of a doctrinal nature; of these attention may be drawn to the works of the young Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Edinburgh, T. F. Torrance, who himself is a leader in Faith and Order and a member of the Commission on the Nature of the Church. This Commission, which is concerned with the subject "Christ and his Church", has been charged with the

task of analysing the nature of the Church from a Christological standpoint, basing the analysis on the Biblical writings themselves. Torrance, himself a Presbyterian, thinks in the same categories when he is not working on the Commission and particularly when he is negotiating with Anglicans over church relationships in the British Isles. Consequently he tries to justify the proposed order of ministry by direct reference to Christology.[4] Space does not allow a reproduction of his argument but it is his method which is here of interest. It is suggested that when two communions are negotiating, they should aim at a mutual process of engrafting so that each party receives and incorporates into itself the actual church order of the other, leading to their growing together into each other's likeness. If this was only a programme of ecclesiastical tactics, there would be little danger, for this is precisely the way which must often be taken when there is to be a union of two organizations differing structurally. But instead this is claimed to rest upon Christology itself; the new order is that demanded by the very nature of the Christian Faith.[5] Such a position must in the end lead to further divisions between the churches and not to unity.

If two churches deal with their problems of unity in this way, then they must continue to do so when they turn towards other communions. Since these will have new variants of order, there will have to be further adjustments if they are to be assimilated—and these adjustments too must be justified Christologically. In fact an outsider may be forgiven for thinking that Christology is treated like a bag, from which any necessary article can be drawn at a moment's notice. Here lies the danger of this: since anyone who looks carefully at the ecumenical world of to-day can see that full parity of order can never be achieved, this kind of approach is bound to create a gnawing suspicion that they are divided amongst those whose differences of order have not been overcome; and this suspicion need not, in most cases, ever arise. The service of the Gospel in different culture patterns is definitely enhanced when the churches are not the same in their structure and organization; but this in no way impairs their unity in Christ. If we turn to Biblical research to find something which will directly influence our modern church order, we come up against the fact, recognized by all New Testament scholars, that the ministry in the early Church took *different forms in different places.* It is this that lies behind the seventh article of the Augsburg Confession on the "True Unity of

the Church": "it is not necessary for human traditions, or rites and ceremonies instituted by man, to be everywhere alike." Unity depends solely upon the pledges of salvation which Christ himself instituted: none of the early congregation were without these.

The ebb and flow of theological fashions of thinking means that at some times a certain position cannot win general acceptance, even if it seems simple and obvious. Reunion proposals which are concerned mainly with church order, such as most of those to-day, are as foreign to the spirit of Lutheranism as anything can be. Yet these reunions are creating a host of new kinds of order, thereby even increasing the diversity among the churches. So that the final result of all this may well be that imparity in matters of order, i.e. that which is now rejected, has to be accepted. The only contribution that Lutheranism has to make at the moment is to help her brethren to come to such a reconsideration. It is perhaps too much to hope that some Lutheran church should begin negotiations with another communion and thus show the way forward by raising other questions than those of order, and by relegating such matters to the realm of expediency where they belong. In the end this is the only practical way; but it may be a long time before we come round to it.

To-day Lutheranism is quiescent; this is why reunion proposals are dominated by matters of order. It is typical that Torrance in his work *Royal Priesthood*, which deals not only with the Anglican and Presbyterian discussions but also with reunion matters as a whole, concentrates entirely on the three previously mentioned denominations, Anglicanism, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism. There is no desire to go beyond these because they all share the same general view of the significance of church order. Torrance writes, "In the light of this it would appear proper to work for a mutual adaptation of our churches and a re-ordering of their ministries in such a way as to assimilate into unity the three main aspects of the ministry that appear in churches of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal types. In such an adaptation there would take place an integration of the episcopate with the presbytery and an integration of the episcopal presbytery with the corporate priesthood of the whole Body."[6] The basic thought seems to be that no part shall surrender its own peculiarity, since all three have brought with them something of the original unity given by Christ.[7] Each of them separately having only a piece, they now

meet together to contribute their fragment of order to the new whole. No one forgoes his own heritage but all contribute it to the common pool, to the hoped-for new whole church, founded on a perfect order. Far away is the whole conception that order exists to give *freedom* to the Church of Christ, that it is an *instrument* always open to adjustment if it is not functioning properly; and yet it is hard to see how such a conception can be voiced in the discussions unless it is brought in by one of the participants, who places the *Gospel* firmly in the centre and regards order as an organ, an agent of the all sovereign Gospel.

Unfortunately there is only one such denomination in the ecumenical field—Lutheranism; and that is absent from most of the present conversations. It is true that Lutheranism has an inborn tendency to choose the old methods and reject the new, but that little peculiarity is rather useful at the moment with episcopacy so much to the fore. In theory, it recognizes all forms, the new as well as the old, as being available for use. Above all, it regards them as tools and this should come like a breath of fresh air into the stale atmosphere at present overhanging inter-church relations, where the stage has now been reached when all communions, even those who are a little sceptical, should come in and participate. It is true enough that the confessions and denominations as they now are, are but segments of the original whole; and furthermore it is also evident that a fuller and more united church in the future cannot be identical with any of the separated bodies which are now groping towards each other. But if unity is brought about by making matters of church order the vital and determinative questions, then the new unity is sacrificed to the ever-present enemy of the Church —legalism. Lutheranism must be there to cry out in warning—that is *its* contribution. It also should be there to represent evangelical freedom in matters of order; if it was faithful to its real self, it could recognize the orders of *all the others*, provided that the order does not make itself absolute, does not exclude other kinds. Such a contribution as this is needed: Lutheranism can, and should, be making it.

Proposals for reunion are naturally local matters; one can only partake by looking around one's own locality and starting conversations with those communions living nearby. All the discussions now proceeding are of this character, they are between local and national churches. Their reports are laid before international gather-

ings and it is there that they are debated. Present-day Lutheranism is well represented at this level, very powerfully represented in fact; but rarely is it found engaged locally; it allows the actual plans for reunions to be shaped by other communions, for it is locally that the designs are made, not at the great international conferences.

If it was agreed that a Lutheran church somewhere in the world was to participate in actual negotiations, it would be hard to find a better place for this than Sweden. One of our strong free churches, the Svenska Missionsforbundet, has no special doctrinal position and is a member of the World Council of Churches; others of them, whose origin lies in the English-speaking world, have a younger generation well acquainted with ecumenical affairs, since their colleagues in other parts of the world are active in discussions—this is true especially of the Methodists and Baptists; and finally the Church of Sweden itself has long been a supporter of the Ecumenical Movement. It would not be surprising if all this resulted some time, remote perhaps yet, in negotiations in our own country.

[1] A good list of contemporary reunion proposals and of connected literature is to be found in *Ecumenical Review* 9, vol. 3, April 1957, pp. 284-302. Since discussions are being held continually and reports regularly being printed, this list, drawn up by J. Robert Nelson, the secretary to Faith and Order, is not quite up to date. To it should be added: *Relations between Anglican and Presbyterian Churches*, Joint Report, 1957; *Conversations between the Church of England and the Methodist Church*, 1958. (Both these concern the homelands of England and Scotland, which have now felt the repercussions of events in the mission field, events begun in South India in 1947.)

[2] *Proposed scheme of Church Union in Ceylon*, 3rd revised edition, 1955 (possibly there are now more recent documents available).

[3] For the triangle see, e.g., L. Newbigin, *The Household of God*, 1953, pp. 30f, 94-8, III, 131-4.

[4] Cf. T. F. Torrance, *Royal Priesthood*, 1955, pp. 36, 42, 103f. Cf. also T. F. Torrance, "Relations between Presbyterian and Anglican Churches in Scotland and England", *Biblical Theology*, vol. 2, Jan 1958, pp. 32ff.

[5] Torrance in *Biblical Theology*, 1958, pp. 27f. The same view can be found in several places in the earlier work.

[6] *Royal Priesthood*, p. 103. Cf. p. 42 (on the "threefold continuity").

[7] It is significant that it was these three who formed the Church of South India in 1947, together with the Methodists. Among the latter group individuals can often have the same views on reunion as above, e.g. John Knox, *The Early Church and the Coming Great Church*, 1955, pp. 142-6 on the "historic episcopate". Knox is a New Testament scholar and a Methodist.

ROBERT NELSON 1656-1714

A. M. D. HENDERSON-HOWAT

THE LIFE of Robert Nelson appears to have had no biographer until, in 1860, John Murray published *The Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Pious Robert Nelson* by the Reverend C. F. Secretan. Dr Francis Lee, who intended to write a memoir of his friend, died suddenly in 1719, and the only mentions of Nelson are those which appear in Lee's *Life of Kettlewell*, in Teale's *Lives of English Laymen*, and in various editions of Nelson's published works containing brief biographical sketches. Letters from him have been preserved in a number of places, but since this *Life* was published there does not appear to have been any further account of a remarkable man, who, living in a critical period of the history of the Church, made a notable contribution towards its work, by his extensive theological output, by his consistent works of charity, and by the example of his whole life.

The biographer who gathered the material for this account did his work well, and as this book has long been out of print extracts from it are of interest. The author starts off by setting the scene:

> The Pious Robert Nelson was born on June 22nd, and baptized July 8th, 1656, at a time when the church of which he was designed to prove so bright an ornament and so able a member was lying helpless and in disgrace under the iron hand of Cromwell. When our Zion was at her lowest, God was raising up a restorer of her desolate places; and in the competence which Robert Nelson inherited of his parents' piety, and in the singular excellence of disposition with which he was gifted, we may discern traces of that Providence which was preparing him to become the promoter of true religion, and an example of charity and goodness.

His father, a wealthy Turkey merchant of the City of London, died when his only surviving son was two, and the boy received his earliest education at St Paul's School. At an early age however Robert Nelson came under the influence of Dr George Bull who later became Bishop of St David's and was the author of the *Defensio Fidei Nicenae*, a book which received the praise of Bossuet. To Dr Bull Mrs Nelson committed the education of her son, and the respect for primitive teaching and for the authority of the Church which distinguished Nelson's later writings must, in great measure, be attributed to Bull's tuition. Had young Robert been living in

London with his uncle, Sir Gabriel Roberts, he might have been under the different influence of Tillotson, then preaching before crowded city congregations at St Lawrence Jewry, and of Dr Kidder the latitudinarian successor of Bishop Ken. With Tillotson Nelson later exchanged the friendship which can exist between scholars of different ages and outlook, but his own theological convictions were firmly formed in his early years by the influence of Dr Bull.

In 1678 Robert still resided with his mother in Gloucestershire, for they are noted as contributing to the Brief for re-building St Paul's Cathedral, London: "Mrs Delicia Nelson, widow, of Londn. a Guynny Mr Rob. Nelson, a Londoner, son, a Guynny."[1] And a set of Communion Plate given to Driffield church bears the inscription:

> The gift of Robert Nelson, Esq., who departed this life the 16th of January, 1714. Declared in his last will and testament to be for ye use of ye Church of Driffield in ye county of Gloucester.[2]

Among Nelson's early friends—and he was a man who was readily responsive to friendship and never lost a good friend—was Dr Mapletoft, an eminent physician who later took Orders and who was himself educated in the family of his great-uncle and godfather, Nicholas Ferrar, at Gidding. To Dr Mapletoft, on hearing of his marriage, Nelson wrote sending good wishes, and added:

> Jan. 1679
>
> I was so far obliged as to be esteemed among your friends and acquaintance, which is no small addition to my own character. According to the company men keep in town, you well know we have our apprehensions of public affairs. . . . We expect the Duke of York here in ten days; the design of his sudden return is not known. We talk mightily of a letter the Prince of Orange has sent to the King.

It is probable that Nelson's friendship with Mapletoft introduced him to the men of science who, as members of the Royal Society, met weekly at Gresham College in the City, and who, in 1680, elected Nelson at the age of twenty-four, to membership.[3]

In the same year, after a visit to his mother, Nelson went abroad with a former school-friend, Edmund Halley, who was already making a name as an astronomer. While in Paris the following spring the suggestion was made to Nelson that he should purchase a place at the court of Charles II. It was a tempting offer to a man whose fortune, accomplishments, and distinction in dress (which he

retained all his life) would have made such a position very acceptable. He was however prepared to be guided by the friends whom he consulted, and Tillotson wrote to Nelson at that time:

> Your mother is perfectly well satisfied, as I told her she had great reason, since you referred yourself to the advice and judgement of your friends; by which I assured her you would most certainly govern your resolution. . . . I waited on the embassador [*sic*] and made the best acknowledgements I could of his great favours and civilities to you, and particularly in that kind of offer he had made you.

Later, possibly with this in mind, Nelson wrote in his meditations for All Saints' Day:

> It concerns all good Christians to take care. . .
> Though they have received good principles in their education, yet they want practice to conform the habits of virtue and courage.

In 1682 Robert Nelson married Lady Theophila Lucy, widow of Sir Kingsmill Lucy, Bt., of Broxbourne, and daughter of George, first Earl of Berkeley. He was then twenty-six, and his bride, who had three children by her first husband, was two years his senior. Their married life of twenty-three years seems to have been a happy one in spite of the difference of religious belief which so soon divided them and tested Nelson's own convictions severely. For the first few years of their married life the Nelsons lived in London—in the parish of St Martin-in-the-Fields. It was during this time that Lady Theophila Nelson became a convert to Roman Catholicism. She had had talks with Cardinal Howard—a connection of the Berkeley family—in Rome, and with Bishop Bossuet in Paris. Positions of honour went frequently to converts of that Church which was in the favour of the court, and Lady Theophila was only one of a number of distinguished persons who were swept up in this wave of Roman Catholicism. Robert Nelson, grieved as he was, knew his own Faith too well to be unduly influenced, and set his hand to the tasks which confronted him.

His biographer wrote of this critical period:

> The secession of his wife to the Romist Church had the further advantage of giving additional prominence to Nelson's own firm and deliberate adhesion to our Reformed religion. The claims of the Church of Rome were thus brought before him, in the closest way, at an early period of his life; and the effect was only to elicit from

him the strongest expression of his difference from, and his repugnance to, her distinctive errors.

Political events moved rapidly in the next few years, and when, in 1691, Nelson reached the Hague on his return to England, he was fixed in his resolution not to acknowledge the government of William and Mary. He was in doubt as to whether he ought to continue to attend the services of the Established Church, when he could not conscientiously pray for those whom he regarded as usurpers. Tillotson to whom he wrote on this point replied frankly:

> As to the case you put, I wonder men should be divided about it. I think it plain that no man can join in prayers in which there is any petition which he is verily persuaded is sinful. I cannot endure a trick anywhere much less in religion.

"Nelson," wrote Secretan, "in the society of his non-juring friends, contracted a still greater aversion for the latitudinarian principles of which Tillotson was the patron." Although their ways parted from now onwards, Nelson attended the archbishop on the last two nights of his life, and continued his kindness to the widow who was "left in but narrow circumstances at his decease".

Nelson continued as a Non-juror from his return to England in 1691 until the death of Bishop Lloyd in 1709 enabled him to join with a good conscience the prelates of the Established Church. It must have meant for him, as for so many who thought like him, a virtual passing into the wilderness, and for at least eight years of that time Nelson lived almost exclusively in the society of non-jurors and in comparative retirement from public life. But that these years were not wasted is shown by the powers with which he emerged. He was closely associated with Bishop Lloyd (of Norwich) in a scheme for the relief of necessitous Non-jurors; Bishop Ken he met frequently at the home of their mutual friend Mr Cherry, and later he corresponded with the bishop in his retirement at Longleat.

In London Nelson had many friends even during these years of conscientious withdrawal. Among them were Hickes and Kettlewell, Pepys and Thomas Bowler, Lee (to whom when he lay dying Nelson entrusted his draft of the life of Kettlewell), and Dodwell, the Camden Professor of History at Oxford. When Kettlewell died in April 1695 Nelson acted as literary executor, and in the following year was published the *Office for Prisoners*. Three years later Nelson

edited a third edition of Kettlewell's *Practical Believer* with a preface by himself. "Nelson", wrote Secretan, "was one of those affectionate natures who must always have a friend, and his personal esteem for Hickes was deepened by the highest respect for his varied learning, and by deference for his theological judgement." They were close friends for the last eleven years of Nelson's life, and the deprived dean for his part warmly commended the publications of Robert Nelson.

> His great worth and talent are known everywhere by that most excellent book [*Companion to the Festivals and Fasts of the Church*], which is received with the highest commendation in all places. For besides the acceptance it hath in a short time found at home in so many editions, it is now translating abroad into several foreign languages. . . .[4]

After the death of Bishop Lloyd, Nelson's friend John Sharp, Archbishop of York, had a number of talks with him, and to his great joy heard "the good news of Mr Nelson's intention to return to our communion", and on Easter Day 1709, "I preached at St Mildred's, Poultry, and administered the sacrament, where was present Mr Nelson, which was the first time he had communicated in the sacrament since the Revolution". But Nelson's allegiance to the Jacobite cause did not waver, and he felt unable to join in the public prayers for Queen Anne. He stated openly that he could not go to church on State prayer days, appointed by royal authority, for "the intention of those days is a solemn acknowledgement of the pretended right to which he could not assent".

Nelson was concerned in a number of Jacobite publications, and his biographer wrote of these years:

> To the personal influence of his different non-juring friends must be ascribed, in a great measure, that charitable zeal which eventually had the effect of weakening his adhesion to their body. In their communion he continued, as we have seen, for nearly 20 years of his life. From among them he chose his dearest friends; and, under their guidance, he matured his theological opinions, and composed his devotional works. Excluded as the Non-jurors were from the pastoral care, pinched with poverty, compelled to devote their leisure to literary engagements, living, moreover, in a constant fever of political excitement and depression, they were precluded from taking any active share in the educational and charitable endeavours of the time. But to them belongs the credit of having trained amid their ranks

as influential a religious writer, and as munificent an example of charity, as that or any of our Church has produced.

When Nelson returned from his years of exile as a Non-juror, he was warmly welcomed, despite political opinions and ecclesiastical differences, by the zealous churchmen who were banding themselves together in the cause of morality and education. Nelson was always generous in his use of time, money, and personal effort in the work of the associations of the Church. He displayed interest in the Societies for the Reformation of Manners (in which dissenters worked with churchmen), and early became a leading member and a frequent chairman of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. When, a few years later, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel developed as a missionary society concerned with the plantations and elsewhere, Robert Nelson attended its meetings regularly. He supported Dr Bray's scheme for the establishment of parochial libraries, and was a member of the Royal Commission which planned to build fifty new churches in London and Westminster. The organization to reclaim and to educate the children of the poor by the setting up of Charity schools aroused Nelson's keen interest and personal support. He took part in the establishment of Queen Anne's Bounty, in the plans of the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, and in the attempts made to help the destitute by the provision of work-houses. In 1703 Nelson moved from Blackheath to Ormonde St, and was thus more easily able to attend the meetings of these societies. In the Minutes of the S.P.C.K. mention is frequently made of his interest and support, and if later political pressure induced for a time the evangelical trend of the Society, it ought not to obscure the fact that it was not so in its inception.

1704. Sept. 28. Mr. Shute acquainted the Society that Mr. Nelson had desired 100 of our small books about Family Devotion, and *The Christian's Way to Heaven*, to be distributed at Tonbridge . . .

1705. April 13. Mr. Shute proposed for circulation by the Society a tract entitled *Forms of Prayer before, at, and after receiving the Holy Sacrament*. And the Society did refer it to the perusal of Dr. Manningham and Mr. Nelson.

1705. Nov. 29. Mr. Nelson had procured a benefaction of 40s. to be disposed of in *Whole Duty of Man* . . .

1705. Dec. 5. Mr. Nelson writes that the other benefactor will also give 500 of Bray's *Baptismal Covenants.*

1706. June 20. A letter from Mr. Nelson, offering the copy of a tract entitled *Prayers for Prisoners under Sentence of Death.*

1706. Dec. 5. Agreed that two of Mr Nelson's *Christian Sacrifice* should be added to the parcels made up for correspondents.

1713. Feb. 25. Mr. Nelson reported that a friend of his would contribute 10 *l.* per annum towards encouraging the chaplain of the Marshalsea Prison . . . [5]

The establishment of Charity schools throughout the country as well as in London and Westminster was the constant concern of men like Nelson who took this whole matter of the upbringing of children in the doctrine of the Church as a grave responsibility. He had hardly been three months a member of the S.P.C.K. before he asked for the printed form used as a guide when schools were established, and the Minutes of the Society show that he was in frequent correspondence with promoters of schools throughout England.

1702. Oct. 8. A letter from Mr. Nelson, desiring that he may apply 4 *l.* per annum, being part of his annual subscription in this Society, toward two Schools in Hampshire, towards which he has very largely contributed . . .

1708. Feb. 3. Mr. Nelson acquainted the Society that the subscription to the Charity school in Queen's Square, near St. George's Chapel, amounted to about 70 *l.* per annum . . . [6]

In 1711 Nelson was interested in the setting up of schools in Bath. and the Minutes of the Bluecoat School, show his interest in the subject matter and methods of teaching, as well as in the schoolwear of the children.

Two letters among those which have been preserved were written to the schoolmaster at Bath, and show Nelson's sympathy with the problems which concern other people. "Quiet your own mind, and resolve to go on in that good way you are engaged in, where you will not only instruct children, but be an instrument of doing good to others. . . ."; and in the second letter:

I hope you will prefer those circumstances which will enable you to do Almighty God most service. . . . I will take care to dispose all matters so at London that no blame may be laid upon you for altering your mind. . . . As I heartily pray for you, so I desire you to remember me in your most retired hours. Your friend, Mr. Taylor, as you desired, is chose Secretary to the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

I am, with great sincerity,
Your faithfully affectionate friend,
Rob. Nelson.

In 1712 letters were written to Nelson from the Secretary of the S.P.C.K. informing him of the accommodation of the children in St Paul's Cathedral for the anniversary service of the Society; this was arranged by Nelson in consultation with Sir Christopher Wren. In the following year Nelson reported how a way had been found that the children might be placed in the Strand so that they should be in view of the Queen on Thanksgiving Day as she passed to St Paul's.

In 1710 the Tory House of Commons took the initiative in planning new churches within the cities of London and Westminster, and suburbs thereof. A Royal Commission was appointed in September for the purpose of carrying out the Act which gave effect to such a scheme, and Nelson's name appears on the list of the commissioners. In the following extracts from Nelson's writings he shows the urgent need for such opportunities for worship, as well as stating clearly the responsibility, which could not be disregarded, for the maintenance of Church Order. He lost no opportunity of telling men of substance like himself that wealth was in itself a stewardship. "In many parishes," he wrote, "the number of parishioners exceeds ten times the capacity of the church to receive them, and where, consequently, there are many that totally neglect the public worship of God, and are thereby deprived of the means of grace, the feeding of their minds with necessary knowledge, the joining in those united prayers which are offered up by a commissioned officer, and the communicating in the Holy Sacrament of Christ's body and blood". [And a further danger]

While others, whose minds are more serious, but not grounded in any true principles which fix them to the communion of the Church of England, take up with the next meeting house where they can be accommodated with room, and are unawares betrayed into the hands of teachers who are destitute of that authority which the Church of England requires in her pastors.[7]

The authority of the Church is again and again referred to in Nelson's writings, and when on one occasion the Committee of S.P.C.K. had to consider a "dangerous libel" entitled *The Principles of the Protestant Reformation explained,* Nelson felt that it was important that a reply be published. The pamphlet which he wrote is preserved in the Lambeth Palace Library, in which he first answers the argument against ceremonies which he points out were used in all ages in the Christian Church, and then against bishops. Of the apostolic order he asks: "How came they to be always in the Catholic Church? . . . in what age were there none? . . . Our Saviour, you know, was sent by His Father, and as His Father sent Him, so He sent His Apostles, and the Bishops: and therefore, as their commission was sacred and their order divine, so was it established in the beginning of Christianity, and Bishops in those days were governors of Churches." The author of the tract had made the flippant remark that "if our Saviour were this day upon earth He would please no party in the Church, nor be well pleased with them". To which Nelson replies:

> And is it possible, think you, that our Saviour now would be displeased with his own Institution, with that order of men which his Apostles, by virtue of the power He gave them, settled in His Church? . . . and in those early times too before the simplicity of the Gospel, as your phrase is, grew out of fashion. No, no, Sir, were He now upon earth, you may assure yourself of the contrary, and that if he were displeased, it would be with the Papacy for retrenching and usurping their power, with the Kirk of Scotland, and other Churches, for abrogating their order and advancing Presbyters to their place and dignity. He would be pleased with none who abused that government which He established, much less with you who have not only derided and reviled it, but also the whole body of the clergy, and the Church of God in all ages.[8]

Nelson, conscious of the many social hardships of the early eighteenth century, felt that churchmen ought to do their utmost to remedy such evils.

> St Basil says, that we commit as many robberies, as we refuse occasions of relieving the necessitous from our superfluities. Do you know what crime you render yourselves guilty of, you that are rich, when you deny the poor necessary food? The same crime, says St. Ambrose, as if you snatched out of his hands the little bread he hath wherewith to support his life. . . . So that it is the hungry man's

> bread you lock up in your own chests; it is his food you consume in riot and gluttony; it is the naked man's clothing you wear in the extravagances of your apparel; and it is the prisoner's liberty that you throw away at your excessive gaming and deep play.

On the other hand he points out wherein their true happiness may lie.

> What pleasure to go about sowing joy in the minds of men, strewing everywhere quiet and serenity, changing the conditions of men, making happy ones, and working miracles. Is it possible that there should be any so foolish as to choose rather to see their coffers full of dirt and earth?[9]

On the need for more theological training for the members of the clergy, and for colleges for ordinands, Nelson expressed himself strongly in this same work which appeared posthumously and was edited by Lee.

> If the palaces of bishops might become again, as heretofore, the schools of candidates for the holy ministry, how then would religion in general, and our Church in particular, flourish? . . . Those who have been educated under the eye of the bishop, who must thence be acquainted with their true character, probably such only would be presented to that most important service whose qualifications were before sufficiently tried and approved, and such as might be an honour to their holy profession and the mission they are designed for, as faithful and true labourers in that vineyard which falleth to their lot. . . . We have indeed very noble foundations for the encouragement of theological studies.[10]

Nelson's devotional writings are considerable, the earliest of these being published anonymously in 1798 with the title *Practice of True Devotion;* it later appeared under his name and began at once to attract attention. Written at a time of bitter party feeling and constant political intrigue it is noteworthy for sanity of expression and consistency of teaching.

> The difference between the goodness of one man and another, does not so much depend upon the nature of that employment which is made his profession, as upon that temper of mind with which he governs it. The priest at the altar may be rejected by God through his ambition and covetousness; when the tradesman in his shop may sanctify his business by justice and charity.

And of praying without ceasing Nelson wrote:

> In like manner, whoever discharges well the duties of his station, and exactly performs the obligations of his profession, may be said to pray continually, and praise the Lord.

The Duty of Family Prayer, published by S.P.C.K., went through twelve editions in fifty years; and *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England* was at once acclaimed as valuable by members of the clergy and laity alike, and Nelson's associates at S.P.C.K. lost no opportunity of putting forward the productions of one of the most honoured of their members. In four and a half years more than 10,000 copies were sold. Nelson's method of question and answer was simple and effective. Reverence for the Communion service was rarely observed in his day, as Sir George Wheeler wrote to Hickes: "This is not observed in cathedral churches I was ever at the communion of, the want of which being gravely and reverendly performed, has much helped I doubt not to raise unfound notions and to make the Table of the Lord contemptible."[11] But Nelson was able to write of Bishop Bull: "He always placed the elements of bread and wine upon the altar himself, after he had received them either from the churchwarden or clerk, or had taken them from some convenient place, where they were laid for that purpose. His constant practice was to offer them upon the Holy Table".[12] And he himself declared, even in 1706, that:

> This Christian Sacrifice was ordained, not only to put us in mind of those great blessings which our Saviour purchased for us by His death (for what man that reflects upon his Christianity can easily forget them?) but it was also established as a sacred rite to supplicate God the Father, by the merits of our Saviour's Passion, representing to Him the symbols of His Body and Blood, that thereby He may become favourable and propitious to us.[13]

—as Lake and Ken, Bull and Wilson were also teaching at this time.

As in the letters of Robert Nelson his kindness and sympathy are conspicuous, so are they characteristic of all his personal relationships. It was with sadness that he watched the declining health of his wife who died on 26 January 1705, and with the children of her first husband Nelson was always on most kindly terms. He was a welcome visitor at Woodcote, the seat of her son Sir Berkeley Lucy; and at Berkeley Castle where his brother-in-law, the second Earl of Berkeley, lived and died. To two young cousins who left England in

early life to be merchants in Smyrna, Nelson wrote long and carefully considered letters of counsel and friendly advice which are quoted in full in Secretan's *Life*.

Nelson's friendship with Hickes may have introduced him to Dr Charlett, Master of University College, Oxford, whose Tory politics occasioned his dismissal from his chaplaincy to the king shortly after the accession of George I. On the Feast of St Simon and St Jude in 1707 Nelson wrote to him: "I rejoice very much at the progress that is made toward the setting up Charity Schools in Oxford. It will be much to the honour of the University, as well as for the benefit of the poor inhabitants."[14] And five years later Nelson tells Charlett of his interest in Scotland where the bishops and great majority of the clergy had been "deprived" for their convictions. "The charity of supplying Scotland with Common Prayer-books may be of great consequence, for tho' the bishops, when established there were not able to bring in our liturgy, yet when that has got good ground among them 'tis to be hoped it may help to restore them." He wrote on 21 June, and added below his signature: "Prayer for me tomorrow, because 'tis my birthday."

A friend of Nelson's later life was Ralph Thoresby, the Yorkshire antiquarian who sometimes stayed in London when seeing *Topography of Leeds* through the press. As a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K. Thoresby came into touch with leading churchmen of the day. He notes his first meeting with Nelson: "I was with several of the deans, and other authors of the clergy and of the laity; amongst whom I was particularly pleased with Mr. Nelson."

A theological writer of eminence, with whom Nelson was brought into touch by the similarity of their views on the Eucharist, was the Reverend John Johnson of Cranbrooke. Johnson taught the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in his *Clergyman's Vade Mecum* published in 1709, and pursued this in his *Propitiatory Oblation in the Holy Eucharist truly stated and defended from Scripture and Antiquity, and the Communion Service of the Church of England* which appeared the following year. Nelson wrote to him:

> Reverend Sir, I have read with great pleasure your admirable treatise, entitled *The Propitiatory Oblation*, etc. wherein I think you have placed the Christian sacrifice in a true light, and have secured it by Scripture and primitive antiquity from the vain attempts of those who have shown a great inclination to confound that ancient truth. . . . I must freely own that your explanation of the word

offertory was entirely new to me, and that you have convinced me that our liturgy uses it according to your sense of it.

Bull's *Judicium Ecclesiae Catholicae* had recently been printed at Oxford, and of it Secretan wrote that "he had collected the testimonies of the primitive Fathers of the first three centuries in proof of the divinity of our Lord, as a necessary article of faith". Apart from its own value, this work formed the occasion of Bossuet's challenge to the author, and of Bull's famous reply, *Corruptions of the Church of Rome*. Nelson, who had had considerable contact with the Bishop of Meaux, often wrote to him from England. Bossuet was frequently brought into touch with the English court at St Germain's, being called upon, from time to time, to preach before the exiled king who told him that he always intended, had he continued on the throne, to invite him to London for a conference with the most eminent Anglican divines.

In answer to a letter which Nelson wrote to him about this time Bossuet replied:

> Je vous dirai d'abord, Monsieur, que je ressentis beaucoup de joie à la veue de vostre écriture et de vostre nom, et que je fus ravi de cette marque de vostre souvenir. Quant à l'ouvrage du Docteur Bullus, j'ay voulu le lire entier, avant que de vous en accuser la reception. . . . Il est admirable, et la matière qu'il traite ne pouvoit estre expliquée plus savamment et plus à fond.

And in spite of the criticisms he made later this praise is not lukewarm.

> C'est ce que je vous supplie de vouloir bien luy faire savoir, et en mesme temps les sincères congratulations de tout le clergé de France assemblé en cette ville, pour le service qu'il rend à l'Eglise Catholique, en défendant si bien le jugement qu'elle a porté fur la necessité de croire la divinité du Fils de Dieu.[15]

On the death of Dr Bull, Bishop of St David's, in February 1709, Nelson was asked by his son to undertake a memoir of the life and writings of the bishop. This occupied much of his time in the next three years, and he only completed it on the last day of 1712. On account of the fire which occurred at the printing office of Mr Bowyer in Dogwell Court, White Friars, the publication was delayed as a few sheets of Nelson's MS. were destroyed. The loss incurred was upwards of £4,000, and other printers and booksellers raised a subscription and obtained, as was the custom, a

Royal Brief. Among private friends who rallied round to help, was Nelson. Bowyer's apprentice, son-in-law, and successor wrote: "The good, the pious Mr. Nelson found here an ample field for the exercise of his munificence and friendship. He had a peculiar regard for Mr. Bowyer, who had regularly ushered his valuable productions into the world." Surely a happy description of a publisher!

In October 1713, being in the fifty-ninth year of his age and feeling that his time on earth was short, Nelson prepared to lay aside the work on which he was engaged. His biographer tells us that:

> He begged his friend Sir Marmaduke Wyvill to take his place as Treasurer and Chairman of St. George's Vestry. He sent back to Dr. Wells the MS. of his "Duty of Church Building" with a kindly letter of approval; taking the opportunity to interest his friend in the distribution of Bibles and Common Prayer Books among the Episcopalians of Scotland, and noticing the measure which had been taken that that good work should not sink by the death of the Queen. He returned to Mr. Theobald (Pope's Antagonist), a translation of Nowell's Catechism, which had been sent to him four months before for his approval. He wrote a farewell letter to his associates at the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. While to his friend Lee, he submitted the MS. of his "Address to Persons of Quality and Estate", which he now foresaw he should not be able himself to complete as he had proposed.

Nelson made his will and after kindly remembrances of his relatives bequeathed the bulk of his estate to charitable uses. Parochial tradition suggests that Nelson lived at the end of his life in the house adjoining St George's church in Kensington, later known as 44 Queen Square, and on 16 January he "died as he had lived, like a lamb . . . submissive to the will of God, and entirely resigned to His holy providence".[16]

The prayer which Robert Nelson "made for his own private use" was printed in the appendix to the *Christian's Exercise*. His life was lived close to such a prayer.

> Grant, O God, that I may not live at random, without any aim or design at all . . . that I may employ my faculties in that work Thou hast assigned them, that I may fight the good fight . . . Let me always be mindful that I have but a little time for this great work, which is very precarious and uncertain . . . Deliver me, most gracious God, from the folly of neglecting this grand concern, of being more intent upon this world than the next; but that I may wisely and prudently

withdraw myself, as much as possible, from the noise, hurry, and business of this world, and apply myself more entirely to a life of devotion and religion: to lay aside every weight. . . . Amen.

1 Extract from the Register of St Laurence Poultney.
2 Extract from the Register of Driffield.
3 Birch's *History of the Royal Society*, Vol. 4, p. 32.
4 *Several Letters which passed*, etc., 2nd ed. 1715, Preface p. 10.
5 S.P.C.K. Minutes. 6 Ibid.
7 *An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate*, 1715, pp. 105ff.
8 *The Necessity of Church Communion*. . . . Printed for A. and J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Paternoster Row, London, 1705.
9 *An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate*, 1715.
10 Ibid. pp. 123ff. 11 See Zouch's *Life*.
12 R. Nelson, *The Life of Dr George Bull*, p. 62.
13 *The Great Duty of Frequenting the Christian Sacrifice*.
14 *Aubrey's Letters*, Vol. 1, 64.
15 Letter in British Museum, Birch MSS. 4277, 38.
16 Marshall's Funeral Discourse.

WERE THE DEISTS "DEISTS"?

A. R. WINNETT

THE QUESTION has been asked, Was Nestorius a Nestorian?[1] It would be equally pertinent to enquire whether the Deists were Deists in the sense of holding those views concerning the relation of God to the world which are commonly understood by the term Deism. Considerable confusion has been caused by the failure to distinguish between Deism in its historical and Deism in its philosophical sense. In its historical meaning Deism represents an aspect or phase of the theological rationalism which originated in the seventeenth and lasted throughout the eighteenth century. The Deists were a group of writers, of different types and varied backgrounds, who held in general that reason was the sole source of religious truth and that all existing forms of religion were simply versions, in greater or less degree corrupt, of one underlying natural religion. In its philosophical sense, however, Deism denotes a particular view of the relation of God to the created order. It denies the presence or immanence of God within the world and limits the divine activity to the initial creation of the world and the determination of its primary collocations and laws, by virtue of which the cosmic process develops autonomously and without further divine guidance or intervention. Deism is thus the doctrine of an "absentee God", comparable to a clockmaker who fashions and winds up the mechanism which is henceforth allowed to run of its own accord.

These two meanings of the word Deism are not infrequently identified, and the Deistical authors of the eighteenth century are cited as the classical exponents of philosophical Deism. Thus, for instance, Dr A. C. Bouquet defines Deism as

> the theory . . . that the transcendent Deity, being 'wholly other' than the universe of His creation, had launched it on its way with a modicum of energy to keep it working and then left it to itself, remaining external and neutral and not interfering with it in any way.

He continues:

> It is hardly surprising that this theory developed in the age which followed the European wars of religion, since the course of ecclesiastical affairs must have seemed to the unbiassed onlooker singularly unlike those of a movement guided by an indwelling Holy Spirit.[2]

Thus by implication historical Deism is identified with philosophical Deism.

Again, Bishop A. C. Headlam gives the following definition of Deism:

> Deism as opposed to theism is the technical name given to that belief which looks upon God as Creator and First Cause, but denies that He is in any way concerned with the government of the world. It would deny, therefore, revelation, miracle and providence.

Headlam, too, makes the same identification of historical with philosophical Deism when he adds:

> The great period of Deism was that of the English philosophical movement of the eighteenth century.[3]

A third instance of this identification is afforded by Dr Eric Mascall, who writes:

> The doctrine of transcendence in its extreme form results in the view that God has no real concern with the universe. . . . Historically this view was embodied in the Deism of the eighteenth century, to which it was particularly congenial.[4]

In contrast to these there are other authorities, such as G. C. Joyce and F. R. Tennant, who are careful to distinguish the two meanings of Deism.[5]

The name Deist is applied to a number of writers who had certain basic attitudes and ideas in common, but who formed no kind of close-knit sect or school. There are varieties of opinion between one writer and another, and within the works of the same writer. At an early stage in the Deistic movement Samuel Clarke could distinguish four kinds of Deists according to the degree of their denial of Christian doctrine concerning God and his creatures. There were those who denied providence altogether; others admitted providence in the natural but not the moral order; a third type of Deist acknowledged a moral rule of God but denied a future life; while a fourth accepted the fact of a future life together with the other truths of natural religion.[6] It will be evident from this that any generalizations concerning the teaching of the Deists must be precarious and admit of exceptions, but it is clear from their writings that the denial of providence and of a divine activity in the world was not a universal and characteristic deistic tenet. It does a grave injustice to the Deists to fasten indiscriminately upon them a

doctrine according to which God "launched the universe on its way and then left it to itself" or which "denies that God is in any way concerned with the government of the world".

One of the early representatives of Deism was Charles Blount (1654-93). In the preface to his *Anima Mundi* (1678) he writes:

> It were atheism to say, There is no God; and so it were (though less directly) to deny His providence, or restrain it to some particulars and exclude it in reference to others.[7]

Blount criticizes Jerome for limiting God's providence to human beings and excluding from it the animal creation: he quotes the text, "Not a sparrow falls to the ground without your Father".[8] He also argues against those who deny the efficacy of prayer or would limit prayer to submission to the divine will:

> Certainly no Christian can write or speak in behalf of this opinion without his conscience flying in his face. For what can be greater relief to a man and comfort to him in affliction, than to have a God to flee to in his distress? The greatest ease in sorrow is to have a friend to break our mind to; and if so, how much greater relief and satisfaction must it afford to an afflicted man, to have a God who is so well able to counsel, direct and assist him, for his friend and to communicate his case to? . . . . Besides, the very thought that we have a Providence at all times to flee to, animates us with a new spirit of boldness and resolution, which is no small assistant to our success.[9]

There are many references to Providence in Blount's tract *Religio Laici*, written in the form of a commentary on Lord Herbert's "Five points of Natural Religion" and published in the collection *Oracles of Reason* (1693). In discussing the question of predestination and free-will he says that

> God does lead and guide all our thoughts, words and actions, yet not by any violent protrusion but by our own consent.

And further:

> As our body is a portion of the body of the world, so is our spirit, which guides and acts us, a beam of the Spirit of God.[10]

The two writers whose works rank as Deist classics are John Toland (1670-1722) and Matthew Tindal (1655-1733), but they can hardly be claimed as exponents of philosophical Deism. Toland's

place among the Deists is an ambiguous one. He did not regard himself as a Deist, and in *Christianity not Mysterious* (1696) he wrote with the professed purpose of defending orthodoxy against "Deists and Atheists". Although making conformity with reason the test of revelation, he nevertheless accepts the fact of revelation and regards the miracles as proving the authority of Christ as the Messiah.[11] Miracles are above the ordinary operations of nature, which God as the Author of Nature has the power of modifying or "supernaturally assisting", but he can only do so for an important and reasonable end worthy of his divine wisdom and majesty.[12] Lechler accordingly describes Toland as a "rational supernaturalist".[13] In his later period Toland became virtually a pantheist.[14] Tindal adopted a more negative attitude towards revelation and the miraculous. Nevertheless, in *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730), he says that God acted as Governor of the universe in giving his universal Law for the obedience of mankind, but as King of the Jews in giving to his people the Law of the Horeb covenant.[15] In the same work Tindal quotes with evident agreement Samuel Clarke's account of the "true Deist's" belief, namely, that God

> preserves the world by His continual all-wise Providence and governs it according to the eternal rules of infinite justice, equity, goodness, mercy and truth; that all created rational beings, depending continually upon Him, are bound to adore, worship and obey Him.[16]

Neither Toland nor Tindal can fairly be said to represent God as a remote First Cause unconcerned with the world or mankind.

William Wollaston (1660-1724), although in Holy Orders of the Church of England, is commonly reckoned among the Deists. Becoming possessed of a considerable fortune he abandoned the exercise of his ministry and devoted himself to philosophical writing. His best-known work, *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722), contains a section on "Truths relating to the Deity", in which the question of providence is discussed. Wollaston plainly asserts God's activity in, and governance of, the world. He writes:

> Though I do not comprehend the mode in which the world depends on Him and He influences and disposes things. . . . yet if I see things which I know cannot be self-existent and observe plainly an economy and design in the disposition of them, I conclude that there is some Being upon whom their existence doth depend and by whom they are modelled; many call this Being God or the Author and Governor of the world.

And further:

> God, who gives existence to the world, does also govern it by His providence.[17]

Wollaston does, it is true, appear to identify God's general providence with the laws and properties of things as determined at the creation, but he also admits a particular providence operative in the lives and actions of men. This latter activity may be exercised through invisible and superhuman agencies as "ministers of God's providence and authors under Him of many events to particular men", and the thoughts and acts of men may be influenced "by the suggestion and impulse, or other silent communication, of some spiritual being, perhaps the Deity Himself."[18] How far Wollaston is from conceiving God as withdrawn from the world is shown by his conclusion that

> God cannot put things so far out of His own power as that He should not for ever govern transactions and events in His own world; nor can perfect knowledge and power ever want proper means to achieve what is fit to be done.[19]

The nature of providence is discussed by Thomas Chubb (1679-1747) in a dissertation on the subject published in his *Tracts* (1730). General providence he identifies with the original constitution of the world as created by God and directed towards a common good. By his general providence

> God has showed Himself to be the most skilful projector and the best executor of the most noble of all designs, viz., a common and most extensive good, by introducing such a constitution of things as has answered the intention in all its parts, through all generations.[20]

In addition, however, to God's general providence there is his particular providence. Chubb holds that it is reasonable to believe

> that God upon some extraordinary occasions, to answer some great and good ends, should immediately interpose to bring about such events as are necessary to answer those purposes, which events would not have been brought about in the course of His general providence.[21]

Nevertheless Chubb denies that these interventions can be other than occasional, for if God were frequently interposing it would

imply that the original plan of the creation was defective and "in need of perpetual patching and mending".

The clearest assertion of the divine presence and activity in the world to be found in any Deistic writer is contained in a work by Thomas Morgan (d. 1743) entitled *Physico-Theology* (1741). His purpose, he says in the preface, is to demonstrate "the Being, Providence, Continual Presence and incessant Agency and Concurrence of the Deity in all the works and ways of nature".[22] Morgan expressly criticizes the comparison of God to a clockmaker who, having made a clock, withdraws and leaves it to run of itself according to the principles and laws of motion. Those who conceive of God in this way, he says,

> would exclude God out of the World, and dismiss the Deity from any farther care or trouble, after they had employed Him in a Jobb to make the World for them, which might, in all time to come, or to all Eternity, preserve and govern itself.

This may be good reasoning and true philosophy, but "it is pity it should pass for good Divinity". There can be no action without an agent, and no causation "without some Will, Choice or Voluntary Determination"; from which it follows that

> the universal Force or Energy, continually exerted through the whole Creation, must be the action of some universal Efficient or Cause.[23]

Further, a world that could preserve, move, and direct itself by its own intrinsic forces could equally well be self-created and not require God as the cause of its existence. To reduce God simply to a First Cause, to regard him as giving an independent power of motion to matter so that the world can subsist and act without him, is nothing other than atheism, and

> such Philosophers have only made a Deity to do a Jobb for them, and then to be discarded and set aside as no farther useful or necessary in the Creation.[24]

Morgan devotes the concluding chapter of his *Physico-Theology* to the subject of "Divine Providence, or God's preserving and governing the world". He asserts as plain and indisputable the fact of the "continued, incessant Power, Presence and Agency of the first intelligent, universal Cause, Supporter and Preserver of all Nature" and says further:

> When we observe the Order of Nature and Methods of Providence, we cannot but see that God has created, and continues to sustain, actuate, direct and move, a Universe, consisting of an infinite series of Beings in Subordination and Dependence upon one another, from the highest to the lowest.[25]

Morgan affirms both general and particular providence, pointing out the inconsistency of admitting the one but not the other, for general and particular providence are related as species to individual within the species. He continues:

> A general Providence or Government of the World without a particular regard to Persons and Things, is a blind Fatality or Necessity, and a particular without a general is a mere Chance, Fortuity or Absolute Will.[26]

God grants his assistance to men, and this is bestowed in answer to prayer, which Morgan defines as

> a constant firm Dependence on the Deity, a firm unshaken Faith or Trust in His Power, Wisdom and Goodness, the belief of His continued Presence, Agency and Concurrence in all human Affairs, and offering up our Desires and Hearts to Him, as the Father of Lights, the Fountain of all Truth, Order and Rectitude, and the Author and Giver of every good and perfect Gift.[27]

There could be no more explicit repudiation of Deism in its philosophical sense as a view of God involving his isolation from the world, than we find in the writings of Morgan.

The identification of historical with philosophical Deism has this amount of justification, that the Deists undoubtedly tended to interpret the relation of God to the world as primarily an external and transcendent one. It was more congenial to their habit of thought to conceive of God as the First Cause and Architect or Designer of the universe, whose existence was held to be demonstrated by the cosmological and teleological proofs, than as the immanent Mind and Life in whom all things have their being and who is ever present and active in nature and history. In this respect the Deists and the orthodox were not far removed from one another, for both were deeply influenced by the view of the universe as a vast machine associated with Newtonian physics. It is true also that the Deists denied the possibility and necessity of a historical revelation, at least in so far as such a revelation claimed to furnish a knowledge of God otherwise inaccessible. Revelation could do no more than

"republish" the truths of natural religion, and was at every point to be tested by its conformity with reason. The attitude of the Deists to miracles was ambiguous, varying from Toland's acceptance of them as guarantees of Christ's authority and teaching to the radical scepticism of Woolston. Nevertheless it is quite unwarranted to ascribe to the Deists in general the view commonly called Deism, which makes God an absentee from his creation and denies to him any activity within it or concern for its governance.

[1] E.g. by Loofs and Bethune-Baker. [2] *The Doctrine of God*, p. 43.
[3] *Christian Theology*, p. 182. [4] *He Who is*, p. 127.
[5] Articles on "Deism" in Hastings E.R.E. and *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edn). Hefelbower, *John Locke and English Deism*, pp. 90-4, also distinguishes between the two meanings of Deism, and dissociates the Deists from the denial of providence.
[6] *Discourse concerning the Unchangeable Obligation of Natural Religion* (Boyle Lectures 1705), 10th edn., pp. 11-26.
[7] *Anima Mundi*, p. 3. [8] P. 46. [9] Pp. 128-9. [10] *Religio Laici*, p. 60.
[11] *Christianity not Mysterious*, p. 47. [12] Pp. 150, 157.
[13] *Geschichte des Englischen Deismus*, p. 193.
[14] Toland's last work was entitled *Pantheisticon*.
[15] *Christianity as Old and the Creation*, p. 197.
[16] P. 364. The quotation is from Clarke's *Discourse* (4th edn.), p. 27.
[17] *The Religion of Nature Delineated*, pp. 94-5.
[18] Pp. 106-7. [19] P. 109.
[20] *Short Dissertation on Providence*, p. 148.
[21] P. 151. [22] *Physico-Theology*, preface, p. vi. [23] P. 28.
[24] P. 61. [25] P. 310. [26] P. 316. [27] P. 324.

THE INVITATORY

ROBERT SYMONDS

THE CITY of Rome began the day at midnight, and the boy Benedict running from it to solitude did the same. In Chapter 9 of the Rule Psalm 95, the *Venite, exultemus*, is prescribed amongst the introductory material of the first service of the day, Nocturns. This psalm, with its exhortations to sing unto the Lord and to hear his voice, appropriately preludes the chanting of psalms and the reading of the scriptures. Amalarius in Sancta Sophia at Constantinople heard it used as an introit at the Liturgy.[1] But to-day many offices of the Orthodox rite contain in their forefront a sacerdotal invitation to worship inspired by it: "O come, let us worship God our King. O come, let us worship and fall down before Christ, our King and our God. O come, let us worship and fall down before the Very Christ, our King and our God. O come, let us worship and fall down before him."[2] From the Benedictine and Roman rites *via* the medieval Matins, Psalm 95 became in the sixteenth century the invitatory of the Morning Prayer of the Church of England. From 1552 the Easter Anthems (enlarged in 1662) were a substitute for it on the Sunday of Sundays, and various State Services in the Anglican centuries replaced it by not very satisfactory centos of psalm verses. Most of the reforms of the Prayer Book, actual and proposed, in the twentieth century have ordered or made permissive the use of the Easter Anthems throughout the Paschal Octave. The English Book of 1928 omitted verses 8-11, and the Scottish Book of 1929 permitted the omission. This is understandable, but the invitation to kneel has no ready obedience, and in practice the congregations of these last decades have too often shown themselves glad with a psalm, not with psalms. The Americans have since 1789 omitted these four last verses and have inserted instead Psalm 96, verses 9 and 13. Ireland 1926, America 1928, and Scotland 1929 allow no invitatory on Ash Wednesday and Good Friday. The Proposed English Book of 1927-8 allowed the omission on any day not a Sunday or holy-day. America has long had instead of the *Venite* on Thanksgiving Day Psalm 147, 1-3, 7-9, 12-14. Canada since 1918 has had centos of scripture verses not only during the Paschal Octave, but special to Christmas Day, Good Friday, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday. They are not as convincing as the traditional verses for Easter. Many of the new Prayer Books have a series of

seasonal anthems to be sung before (American 1928), or before and then after, the *Gloria Patri* (English proposals 1928, Scotland 1929, S. Africa 1944, Canadian Draft 1955). There is a setting of the English set adapted from Orlando Gibbons, published in 1927 by S.P.C.K. and O.U.P. But he is a rare bird who has heard these used, and a rarer who has sung them. They are no doubt felt to be an over-complication of the structure of the English Office. Such anthems in the Latin rite occur not only before and after the Invitatory psalm but at several places in the course of it. In the 1957 *Prayer Book Studies No. 6* of the Standing Liturgical Commission of American Anglicanism these anthems are retained, but it is suggested that they should be as in Scotland and Africa the Alpha and Omega of the Invitatory. Psalm 100, *Jubilate Deo*, is put down as an alternative to the *Venite*. This proposal is worth pondering. It might well be better than an abbreviation of Psalm 95, or if the *Venite* be kept for Matins, then the *Jubilate* could be the Invitatory at Evensong. In 1552 "O Lord, open" was added to Evensong after centuries of seclusion to Nocturns. Why should not Evensong be blessed with so sensible an overture as an Invitatory? Indeed, for those who have escaped from the romance of Romanism the evening has stronger claims than the morning to be regarded as the beginning of the day. Apart from that, the Invitatory can invite to the worship of the hour as rightly as of the whole day. Before the Restoration the *Venite* was sung to a setting, not a chant. There is worth in the proposition that four of the current Anglican beginnings to the Office be liquidated, and only the fifth be given survival and more than that, new life. The Introit of the radio Cathedral Evensong or the hymn of the popular parish, the Penitential Introduction, the Our Father, and the Preces, these are the four we might well abandon, though the last could be an alternative to an Invitatory, the continuing fifth, for use on week days and in situations of weakness. All stand, the choir or select voice or voices sing the Invitatory, then all sing the Office Hymn and sit for the reciting and/or singing of the psalms: that would be a plain solid start. The Invitatory need not be limited to Psalms 95 and 100. It could be a means of securing frequent use for a handful worthy of a folk familiarity. The psalm alternatives to the Gospel canticles after the lessons are ripe for disuse. The *Benedicite*, the *Jubilate*, and the *Cantate Domino* are themselves Invitatories, and are out of place when the worship is in full course. Once they

may have been entrance chants for the party from the big house dispensing with the preliminaries and arriving for the salty spicy-savoured sustenance of the sermon. That day is past and over. There is just about enough material of an invitatory character in the psalter to provide invitatories for the liturgical seasons at both morning and evening prayer.

In Advent at Evensong, Psalm 47. It is the first psalm for the 9th evening. So on that evening of the month after the Invitatory psalm and the Office Hymn would come only Psalms 48 and 49, i.e., 33 verses while on the 19th morning after Psalm 95 and the Office Hymn Psalms 96 and 97 give only 25 verses. The allocations that follow assume the present divisions of the psalter. In Advent at Matins Psalm 98, *Cantate Domino*, an evening psalm.

From Christmas to Epiphany inclusive, from Easter Monday to Whitsunday (or Trinity), throughout the Dedication Octave and on other Feasts of our Lord, i.e., 2 February, 25 March, 6 August, at Evensong Psalm 117, a morning psalm, and at Matins Psalm 150, an evening psalm.

From 7 January to the Saturday before Septuagesima, from Whitmonday to the Saturday before Advent, at Evensong Psalm 134, a morning psalm in the present psalter, and at Matins Psalm 100, an evening psalm.

From Septuagesima to Shrove Tuesday, i.e., all Shrovetide, at Evensong Psalm 105, verses 1-8, a morning psalm, and at Matins Psalm 136, verses 1-4 and 23-7, an evening psalm.

In Lent at Evensong Psalm 103, verses 1-5 and 20-2, a morning psalm, and at Matins Psalm 95. Why not kneel after verse 7? Let a bass solo intone verses 9-11, the very voice of very God. Stand again for the *Gloria Patri*.

On Saints' Days of the Red-letter sort at Evensong Psalm 68, verses 32-5, a morning psalm, and at Matins Psalm 38, verses 1-8, an evening psalm.

[1] *History of the Roman Breviary*, P. Batiffol, translated by A. M. Y. Baylay, 1912, p. 76 note 7. This is still the third antiphon on weekdays, though on Sundays the Beatitudes have now replaced it. See *A Study of the Byzantine Liturgy*, H. Holloway, pp. 50-1, 195; *Exposition of the Divine Liturgy*, N. Cabasilas, ch. 19; and cf. *The Life of Porphyry* (c. 347-420), *Bishop of Gaza*, by Mark the deacon, Teubner, 1895, §77, p. 64.

[2] Cf. St John Climacus (fl. 600), *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, Step 4, §38. Translation by L. Moore, Faber, 1959, p. 81.

MINISTERIAL TERMINOLOGY

F. E. VOKES

IN THE SPHERE of ecumenical discussions concerning the ministry, as in all spheres, uncertainty as to terms can only lead to confusion. Many examples could be quoted. In the autumn meetings of the Convocation of York as reported in the *Church Times* of 10 October 1958 the Reverend W. Wallis asked: "What should be the relationship of elders to the rest of the laity in the Church of England? How should the lay eldership be integrated with the Anglican type of ministry? A confessor for example could not discuss one parishioner with a group of others." Later in the same debate the Bishop of Manchester suggested "that possibly the question of the lay eldership linked up with the discussions in the Church of England about the diaconate".

Such language recalls the Puritan Admonition to Parliament of 1572, in which it was said: "The deaconship must not be confounded with the ministry." One might also quote the common alteration of the prayer for clergy and people from "Bishops and curates" to "Bishops and clergy". Again the *Church Times* quoted from the Archbishop of Wales's address at a service at Llandrindod Wells in connection with the meeting there of the Governing Body of the Church in Wales: "Honesty compels us to say that for us, reunion on any other basis than the integration of the ministry with the historic episcopate is unthinkable."

In all of these quotations it seems to be forgotten that priest is derived etymologically from presbyter, that elder is a translation of presbyter, that minister is the correct Latin translation for *diakonos*, and that among the clergy there are three orders of ministers, of which the bishops are one, It may be that the distinction between the clergy and laity bedevils much discussion, for the clergy themselves must be part of the *laos*, the people of God. However, it is to be noted that confusion is caused by reference to lay elders, and by discussing the place of lay readers in connection with the ordained ministry, without remembering clearly the word "lay".

In a review in the *Church Times* of the book by D. L. Edwards, *Not Angels but Anglicans* (S.C.M., 1958) the reviewer says: "The author's condemnation of the statement in the Preface to the Ordinal that the existence of the three orders of bishops, priests

and deacons since the Apostles' time is 'evident to all men' is as questionable as the 'bad history' which he deprecates." It is only too evident from the very existence of Churches which have rejected that threefold ministry that the existence of those three orders has not been evident. Moreover, within Anglicanism itself there is a double movement that hides the theoretically essential threefold ministry. In the first place the diaconate is but a period of probation for the priesthood, or a stepping stone to the priesthood. In this Anglicans only follow medieval custom. However, the most evident distortion of the threefold pattern is the cluttering up of the ministry with functionaries or dignitaries so that many find it impossible to distinguish the essential ministry. Thus the Admonition to Parliament mentioned above speaks of "Chancellors, archbishops, officials. . . proctors, doctors, churchwardens. . . etc." Similarly the "Etcetera Oath" of the proposed Canons of 1640 ran: "Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, deans and archdeacons, etc. as it stands now established." It is well known that this oath caused great offence for the vagueness of "etc.", which probably referred only to rural deans, but might allow for future innovations; but both of these historical references do show the elaboration of the ministry. It may be that a ministry, a service, could be differentiated into functionaries, but it is doubtful if a place can be found for a dignitary, for an honorary canon, or an archdeacon emeritus.

Besides this over-elaboration of the ministry, the second tendency which hides the essential threefold ministry is the preoccupation with one only of the orders. For example in many circles there is the emphasis on the powers of the priesthood to the exclusion of the other orders. In reunion discussions there is the isolation of the episcopate so that all that is required is the taking of the episcopate into the system of the Free Churches. There is moreover the increasing influence of archbishops. This can be seen in the publication of *The Archbishop Speaks* (Evans, London, 1958), speeches selected by E. Carpenter, and in the setting up of continuing machinery for the Lambeth Conference. All of these developments may be logical and necessary, but they all lead inevitably to a change of emphasis and so of meaning.

Clergy from overseas have been heard to comment on the firmness with which the Church of Ireland, or the Church in Wales, or the Episcopal Church of Scotland stand for episcopacy, as com-

pared with the wavering of the Church of England. At the meeting of the northern Convocation already referred to Father Blair drew attention to the first canon of the Episcopal Church of Scotland which asserted the divine origin of the threefold ministry more forcefully than any other province of the Anglican Communion. It is, however, possible to feel that this insistence on the episcopate and its dignities sometimes misses the true sense of a ministry within a ministering Church, so that the welfare of the people of God suffers. For example the limitation of the number of bishops in Wales a short while ago led, owing to death and illness, to a great difficulty in supplying confirmations. In conferences and in ceremonies one sees the bishops set apart upon a stage or surrounded by dignitaries, civil and ecclesiastical, rather than in the midst of their people surrounded by their presbyters.

In *The Lord of History* (Longmans, 1958, p. 69) Jean Daniélou writes: "Any Christian stranger would find hospitality awaiting him in every parish or bishopric, for in those days the bishop corresponded rather with the average parish priest, not even with the rector of a big metropolitan parish, who might have been an archbishop." It was the great virtue of the symposium by members of Westcott House, Cambridge, entitled *The Historic Episcopate* (Westminster, 1954) edited by K. M. Carey, that it stressed the changing functions and spheres of activity of the bishop throughout history. In a sense the Dean of Winchester has shown the same changes in the Anglican view of the ministry in *Old Priest, New Presbyter* (Cambridge, 1956). This growth and development makes the phrase "the historic episcopate" one of very doubtful value and uncertain content, as is clear when one discusses who is the minister of the sacraments and what is the priesthood. There is no doubt that the normal minister of the sacraments in the early Church was the bishop. He was the priest. It was not till the third century that the presbyter was called priest and the bishop high priest. The priest is still the delegate of the bishop when he administers the sacraments, yet Gregory Dix could claim for the priest in his parish the right of liturgical experiment. It is foolish to refuse to see the truth of the statement of Père Daniélou, and not to recognize that the ordinary parishioner sees in his parish priest the key to the ministry. In his parish the priest seems to be autonomous. Even if, as in Ireland, he is bound by the canons, yet the parish is the normal financial unit. In England there is still the parson's freehold, and legally the rector

is still an "ecclesiastical corporation sole". In Japan before the war the Anglican Church preserved its identity in the face of rigorous laws by falling back on the unit of the local congregation. There has been very little discussion of the emergence from the corporate presbyterate of the localized parish priest, and of his fusion in the feudal state, and so into the legal-political institution that the Church was and still continues anachronistically to be. The change from the city state polity to the oriental autocracy in the Roman Empire, and then through the feudal state of the Middle Ages to the nation state of modern times has inevitably left its mark on the Church. Many of the officers of the Church to-day, who are being used to patch up the unity of the Church lost in the fragmentation of the unity of the diocesan life, are derived from the medieval Church where the parish priest rarely met his superior except in the law courts to pay fees or as a defendant. Perhaps the only place where there has been serious discussion of the effects of these changes has been in the history of penance and of baptism and confirmation. E. G. Bowen has however written a significant work on the emergence of the ecclesiastical units of the Church in Wales in his *The Settlements of the Celtic Saints in Wales* (Cardiff, 1954 and 1956).

Any radical examination of the ministry must lead to a consideration of problems which may at first seem remote or irrelevant, for example, the place of rural deans in the local organization. There was a motion before Convocation in the eighteenth century "concerning the setting up of rural deans where they are not, and making them useful where they are". One might also discuss residentiary canonries, whether they are benefices of ease to supply stipends for dignitaries, or mere anachronisms, or groups of clergy to study social problems, or corporations of priests to maintain the worship of God in the cathedral. A very real practical problem is presented by the relationship between a young man's course in a theological college and his diaconate. Is that diaconate a continuation of his training? Shall he therefore be ordained to a parish where his help is needed, or to serve under an incumbent who can give him pastoral and parochial training? What is fundamental, and yet is lacking in studies of the ministry and ecumenical problems, is a consideration of the nature of the Church. The nature of the Roman Church is clearly reflected in its political system. The medieval Church reflected the feudalism of secular society, and the

ministry was part of this. The nation state is seen in the Churches of the Protestant Reformation. In the Free Churches can be seen the effects of bourgeois liberalism, and the same political climate affected the social status granted to, and clung to, by the Anglican incumbent. In all of this there is a tendency to think of the Church in political categories and in categories derived from the thought of the Greco-Roman world, so that episcopacy means monarchy, presbyterianism oligarchy, and congregationalism democracy. Both the use of political and of western categories is inevitable, and cannot be branded as wrong. The Church is part of society. In *Old Priest, New Presbyter* Dr Sykes wisely stressed the part played in Anglicanism by the theory of the "godly prince", though it might be objected that he ignored this in his treatment of the period of the Commonwealth. There he pointed out that the succession of bishops nearly lapsed as it was held incorrect to consecrate except to an actual territorial jurisdiction. There was also the fact that nomination by a legitimate *de facto* monarch was not possible. The Church is, however, more than a financial or administrative unit, it is the "body of Christ". It is a corporation in a sense more real than the emasculated modern meaning of that word. Its aim must be more than efficiency, it must be service in the promotion of the glory of God by worship and the salvation of souls. It is also in a real sense the Israel of God. As such it is wrong to use Greco-Roman terms of the Church. It had a Semitic origin, and is an hierarchic body. In the New Testament this was not a matter of metaphor or typology, it was a matter of historical fact.

Bo Reicke has shown this most clearly in his essay entitled "The Constitution of the Primitive Church in the light of Jewish Documents" in the symposium *The Scrolls and the New Testament* edited by Krister Stendahl (S.C.M., 1958). He points out that Christians can find in the New Testament episcopacy, presbyterianism, and congregationalism. They are not merely reading their own views into the documents, for the material supports them all. The error lies in treating them as exclusive. The government of the Church does not conform to any one Hellenistic pattern, it is much more complex and, one might add, organic. *Cheirotonein* does not mean to count votes, but only to stretch out the hand. When Paul makes a decision about Corinth he does not act monarchically, the whole Church is felt to act with him. It is almost impossible to discuss the situation of Acts 15 in constitutional terms. Reicke

draws attention to the very significant, but much too little noticed study of the primitive Church and ministry by Olof Linton, *Das Problem der Urkirche in der neueren Forschung*, to which my own attention was drawn by the late F. C. Burkitt. It was published at Uppsala in 1932. In this Linton discusses in the fashion of Schweitzer's *Quest of the Historical Jesus* the development of the study of the primitive Church from Hatch and Harnack to his own time. He shows the philosophical and theological presuppositions of the critics, and then himself draws attention to the Semitic and oriental background, and to the strangeness of the material.

Such a unified study of the ministry is needed now. Within the single integrated threefold ministry there has been a transference of functions and a systematizing of originally separate units. The teaching and liturgical functions of the bishops which we find in Irenaeus and Hippolytus have become those of defining and authorizing doctrine and worship, while the exercise of the functions has passed to the priest. The authority for the exercise of discipline has passed to the bishop, but in the confessional the priest conducts the day to day spiritual guidance of the people. It may be that in the time of Cyprian the presbyterate, including the confessors as honorary presbyters, were the disciplinary court of the Churches. So one might continue, but the greatest difference remains. In spite of the ubiquity of the present day bishop on platforms, at committees, at confirmations and institutions, the bishop is still only the occasional minister in the corporate life of the local Church. He is not the centre of unity as in the time of Ignatius of Antioch. In the seventeenth century in Ireland Archbishop Ussher sought to revive synodical government, and thought of rural deans in terms of *chorepiscopoi* (country bishops). It is unrealistic to think of reviving the primitive centrality of the episcopate by adding, say, twenty new bishoprics in England. It would be necessary to think of multiplying the present number ten or twenty-fold. It does not necessarily follow that an episcopate integrated into a free Church or non-episcopal ministry will result in anything like the historic episcopate of any period of history. It may be that as the ministry has itself developed in history, so it must adapt itself to changing circumstances. It must be the duty of the theologian to see that such adaptations do not change the nature and character of the church.

That Church is the Body of Christ. It is not his sacramental body, nor his earthly body, nor his glorified body. It is not even perfectly

his body, but in whatever way it is his body, it is untrue to itself if its marks are not those of Christ himself. He came in humble self-offering to minister to men, to suffer, and to die for them. It is the Church's task to do the same for the world, if it will live and reign with him. If that is true of the Church, then it must be true of the ministry within the Church. The very title "ministry" proclaims this fact. It has been well said that a Church which plays power politics denies its true nature, and that is true of ministers within the Church. If the ministry is not derived by evolution from the Church, but is of dominical origin, it is nevertheless within the Church. Bishop Newbigin quoted Newman, who said that Catholics believe that their orders are valid because they belong to the true Church, Anglicans that they belong to the true Church because their orders are valid. Must there not be a combination of both so that both Church and ministers are true to their Lord?

REVIEWS

AFTER DEATH

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF THE HEREAFTER. By C. RYDER SMITH. Epworth. 30s.

THE present work completes the late Dr Ryder Smith's series on Bible doctrines. His approach to eschatology is conventional and non-partisan. His primary concern is simply to collate and state the evidence and the result is a book of reference rather than of literary beauty or artistic merit. But this somewhat pedestrian method has at least the advantage of avoiding the pitfalls typical of the lunatic-fringe of sectarian eschatology, though it may well be questioned whether a sober, rationalistic approach to eschatology can ever quite respond to the task of evaluating eschatology. One feels with this book as comfortable or uncomfortable as if a sound but somewhat pedantic drawing-master were to explain to one Michelangelo's "Last Judgement".

There are however many points of importance and interest which are brought out with great clarity. The author stresses the unity of biblical belief and shows that eschatology is not a separate department. The Rule of God, past, present, and future, governs the variegated concepts and hopes and fears which death evokes, both for the individual and society. It is the interplay of time and eternity, as displayed in history and in the lives of men, some of whom are worthy of punishment and some of rewards, which causes the infinite complexity of the subject, even before the Hebrew traditions became subject to Persian and Hellenistic influences. Thus cosmic and ethical speculations were already firmly embedded in Jewish eschatology before "the fulness of the times" or "the end of these days" came: the *differentia* of the New Testament lies in the claim that the Incarnation is the beginning of the End. But this again is rendered more complex by the doctrine of the Second Coming of the Son of Man, which Dr Ryder Smith accepts: the concept of the Parousia is axiomatic, for "the New Testament writers . . . had their Lord's own warrant for it". It is against the exultant *maran atha* (though the first Christians were mistaken in their belief that the Parousia was near) that the State of the Dead must be considered. Some men died and were immediately to be with Jesus, but the majority were not; the Christians added their *differentia*—belief in Jesus, expectation of his Coming to judge—to the accepted norms of Jewish belief. Thus the ethical division of men into the wicked and the righteous cannot suffice, for a criterion of belief and membership in Christ becomes at least as, if not more important, than the ethical qualification. Dr Ryder Smith does not believe that the Christian *differentia* softens the doctrine of eternal retribution: there is a doctrine of "ever-lasting punishment" in the New Testament and the "wrath of God" cannot be confined to the loss of God's light. The evidence for universalism is too slender to mitigate the harshness of the doctrine. The last chapter groups the

material very well and may even be studied in isolation by parish-priests who are pressed, as they often are, on this most controversial topic. The author sympathizes no doubt with universalism but he is not afraid to conclude that "there is no hint that every man will be saved as soon as he dies. The salvation of all *men* is a part of the salvation of the *universe*, and this does not come till the End of the Age. This leaves room for the belief that wicked men are converted in the Intermediate State, but there is no New Testament evidence for this." A hard saying, surely, inviting renewed study of the whole tradition behind the New Testament and of the question of doctrinal development.

U. E. Simon

SALVATION-HISTORY

From the Stone Age to Christianity. By W. F. Albright. The John Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 40s.

A History of Old Testament Times. By R. K. Harrison. Marshall, Morgan & Scott. 17s. 6d.

The question may sometimes be asked whether any of the books concerning religion published during the first half of the twentieth century will survive the passage of time. Professor Albright's work, already to be numbered as a classic, is most likely to be found among the few. This does not mean that it does not suffer from the vicissitudes of time, for any book which is based not only upon ideas—and some very original ideas!—but equally upon the findings of empirical science, and especially of archaeology, must be subject to endless revisions, new information, slight or heavy shiftings of emphasis. When Albright first published *From the Stone Age* in 1940 it could not receive the notice and acclamation in this country or in Europe which it would have sensationally obtained under normal circumstances. The picture is now quite different and translations have appeared in the most important languages. The present reprint in English is not yet a really new edition—this must wait; for the moment the author summarizes what he considers to be the most significant features which will guide him in such a re-writing of the whole book. This Introduction is only 23 pages long but it may well be doubted if a greater mine of archaeological and biblical information can be discovered elsewhere. If anyone feels that he has not had the opportunity of catching up with scholarly events since the war, here is his golden opportunity of remedying this and other defects.

It is impossible within the compass of a short review to do justice even to the outline of this book. After delineating the new horizons in history, which deal with the archaeological revolution, the discovery and interpretation of ancient written and unwritten documents, and the whole burning issue of the transmission of history, Albright discusses first some abstract tendencies in the philosophy of history. He distrusts

ideological dogmata in favour of the view "that a culture represents an empirico-adaptive system, in which elements have been brought together as a result of many quite dissimilar causes, but where they are adapted to one another" in organismic harmony. This microcosmic organism of man may—and in his view does—reflect the intelligence and will of the macrocosmic power.

But the climax of the work is contained in the chapters which deal with the massive evidence in four chapters: Praeparatio, When Israel was a child, Charisma and Catharsis, In the Fulness of Time . . . , and a moving epilogue completes the work. It is not often that a great scholar will commit himself, let alone identify himself, with the full implications of the Gospel of the one God who visits his people. Here technical excellence, felicitous phrasing, seriousness of purpose, and a certain freedom of thought bring about such a happy and suggestive result that one can only wonder that among all the American imports this one, alas, has been neglected so far. I recommend the book not only to preachers, teachers, and laymen, but particularly to and for agnostics who really want to find out for themselves. Albright does not *prove* the truth of the Bible—such a stupid claim is quite foreign to his method; he does not dogmatize: "this happened, because the Bible says so." Rather he solicits that vision and understanding of facts which excites the reader and gives him a new approach to the Bible.

Professor R. K. Harrison's *History of Old Testament Times* cannot be judged in the same way, nor would the author claim that he has written a great book. But in its modest manner he has given us a good and reliable summary of the relevant material, biblical and non-biblical, and he succeeds in filling that gap which many teachers and students feel acutely when they desire a brief, readable History of Israel. It cannot be sufficiently stressed that all pre-war histories are *ipso facto* out of date and should now be jettisoned for good. The work under review will not act as a lasting guide, but it will bridge that hiatus between the amateur and the professional and may well serve as a text-book in Training Colleges. As so often happens the pre-exilic chapters rather dwarf the rest. It should be added that the book is good value for money.

U. E. Simon

THEOLOGY INTEGRATED

The Gospel of the Incarnation. By George S. Hendry. S.C.M. 15s.

The Croall Lectures (delivered at New College, Edinburgh) have already won for themselves an honoured place on the shelves of the theological student and Professor Hendry worthily upholds a fine tradition.

His approach is thoroughly ecumenical in the best sense of the word. One result of our unhappy divisions has been the fragmentation of the Gospel and he sets himself the task of interpreting and as far as possible integrating the divided streams of thinking about the Incarnation in the history of Christian theology. One main purpose of the book is to relate

more closely than is normally done the doctrines of the Person and Work of Christ, while his closing chapter on the Extension of the Incarnation reminds us that consideration of the Incarnation and the Atonement cannot stop short in the last resort of the doctrine of the Church and Sacraments.

The questions with which the author deals are always real questions. How can Lessing's "ugly, broad ditch" between historical facts and the truths which depend upon them be crossed? How can the humanity of Christ be described as a universal humanity? In what sense and on what grounds can his work be called vicarious? What is the relationship between the two doctrines of his Person and Work? To all these problems Professor Hendry brings an independence of mind which is a tonic in itself. He never allows us to accept a solution lightly or easily and even those views to which he himself is most drawn do not escape rigorous scrutiny. His outreach is astonishingly wide. We should expect expert guidance on Calvin and Barth from a Professor at Princeton but in addition there is an illuminating chapter on the Greek Fathers containing a careful defence of the so-called doctrine of "physical redemption" against some of the criticisms often raised against it, and a discussion of St Thomas Aquinas. There is even a certain freshness about his criticisms of the classical theories of the Atonement, a topic on which it might be thought that little had been left unsaid.

At the same time there are certain deficiencies in the book as it stands. Even the attentive reader would have been grateful for more sign-posting on the way. While the historical part of the work is ably handled, we are not always sure where Professor Hendry wants to take us. It is, of course, almost inevitable that in so wide-ranging a subject there should be topics upon which we are left asking for more. That is the penalty for delivering a course of lectures and not producing a *Summa*! A defence of the theory of "physical redemption" with the indication that it provides satisfactorily for the vicarious character of the work of Christ is followed by a critique of the Chalcedonian Definition. We expect an alternative formulation in terms of personality, but are told (rather surprisingly) that "the more the Gospel is interpreted in terms of persons rather than natures, the more difficult it becomes to account for its vicarious character" and the point is rubbed well home by a rigorous critique of classical Western theology from this point of view. Later on, however, the double concept of "God for Man" and "the Man for God" virtually reasserts the truth for which the Chalcedonian Definition was really contending and the concept of vicariousness is linked very closely with the personal activity of our Lord in his Incarnation. It is all most exciting but not a little perplexing even to those who have some knowledge of the subject already. A rather longer book and better sign-posting along the way would have helped considerably.

The author's brief treatment of the doctrine of the Church is full of interest and makes us ask for more. He seems prepared to accept the notion of the Church as the Extension of the Incarnation though the qualifications which he makes are fully in line with his own theological

tradition. He accepts the principle that "historical succession is an element in the extension". His discussion of the Real Presence of Christ in the Holy Communion is a notable piece of work which should go some way towards removing the popular (though mistaken) idea that every Presbyterian must necessarily be a Zwinglian. A careful comparison of this part of his book with Donald Baillie's *Theology of the Sacraments* and Geddes MacGregor's *Corpus Christi* would be an illuminating exercise in ecumenical understanding.

One important theme seems to recur throughout the book. It is the futility of trying to construct some *a priori* theological scheme and then attempting to fit Christ into it. This is the nerve of his criticism of St Anselm's claim to offer a theology of Atonement *remoto Christo* and of attempts to offer a theological rationale of the Real Presence (though it is clear that his own thought is moving in the direction of the category of action).

This book is full of good things, fresh and invigorating and well worth the effort to master it. But it will not be found easy going.

H. E. W. Turner

IMMORTALITY OR RESURRECTION?

Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead. By Oscar Cullmann. Epworth. 6s.

Our Undying Self. By Frank W. Moyle. Longmans. 10s. 6d.

In his preface to this English translation Professor Cullmann says, "No other publication of mine has provoked such enthusiasm or such violent hostility". It is not difficult to understand why. As he points out, there is widespread belief that immortality of the soul is Christian doctrine supported by Scripture. This idea, he argues, is quite alien to the teaching of the Bible and is derived from pagan Greek philosophy. The biblical teaching is of resurrection from the dead through participation in the resurrection Body of Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit. Death destroys the whole man, body and soul, except those in whom the creative or re-creative work of God has in some measure overcome death. True, as the early Christians discovered, the faithful continue to die, but instead of passing to nothingness they enter a state of "sleep" in which, by the Holy Spirit, they are "with Christ", waiting for the final day, when their bodies, taken from them by death in their corruptible form, shall be restored to them incorruptible, and they shall rise into the full resurrection life. Resurrection is a new creation, not the release of the glorious spirit from the trammels of the vile body.

Professor Cullmann presents his argument with admirable clarity and great vigour and he ought to be read by every Christian. It is a needed tonic against sentimentalism and loose thinking on the question of an after life. His general case is unanswerable. In the limited time a lecture gives, many points must be passed over lightly, but a serious defect in

this little book is that it throws more emphasis on the physical event of death as the "enemy", rather than on the inner meaning of death as spiritual alienation from God. It is possible to accept death as natural to man (Professor Cullmann insists that it is unnatural) and still agree with the rest of his argument. This should not be taken to detract from the importance of the book.

The Reverend Frank W. Moyle ignores the conflict between the two ideas of immortality of the soul and resurrection in Christ, but tends to identify them. He writes persuasively as a pastor, concerned to convince people of the reality of an after-life, richer than this life. He will have nothing to do with the belief in the resurrection of our earthly body, for our souls will take a new body to themselves. Here he differs from Professor Cullmann, who interprets the New Testament to mean that our earthly bodies will be spiritualized in the resurrection. Perhaps in the end they both mean the same thing. Another point of difference is about the meaning of "sleep". Mr Moyle insists that active resurrection life begins at once after death. The dead do not have to wait till the general resurrection. To support this contention he introduces a chapter of stories of communications from the dead. This is a pity. Such incidents cannot be lightly dismissed, but as well as opening the way to credulousness they also confuse the general argument which Mr Moyle has otherwise so vividly presented. He would have done well to take the idea of death more seriously, following the example of Professor Cullmann, who in turn might consider the idea suggested by Mr Moyle that physical death is the gateway to further existences—over all of which we must consider absolute death to hold power.

R. S. Lee

CHRISTIAN HEALING

John Wesley among the Physicians. By A. Wesley Hill. Epworth. 10s. 6d.

It is difficult to put down this little book, for though it may be of more interest to doctors of medicine than to their brothers in divinity, there is a great deal in it to fascinate the general reader.

John Wesley was greatly concerned with the plight of the suffering poor who, had they been able to afford medical treatment, would have been subjected (according to him) to much that was not only useless but highly dangerous. For twenty-six years he made "Anatomy and Physic the study of his leisure hours" and although he had no University qualification in medicine, he believed it right for him to practise. He fulminated against the three terrors of blood-letting, enemata, and emetics—all of them common in his day—though his own fondness for mercury in vast quantities is open to question.

It will surprise most people to know that he was a pioneer in electrotherapy, using small local shocks for a variety of ailments. Incidentally, it was not until 1939 that electroplexy was first used for the treatment

of psychotic illness. In addition, he is rightly regarded as the greatest health educator of the eighteenth century in Britain. Furthermore, what is known as psycho-somatic medicine was a commonplace to Wesley. But is there anything new under the sun? After all, Gideon was quite good at Personnel Selection.

NORMAN SMALL

CHRISTIAN SYMBOLISM

SYMBOLISM IN THE BIBLE AND THE CHURCH. By GILBERT COPE. S.C.M. 30s.

ONE OF the problems before the Church to-day is the fact that much traditional symbolism has lost its significance for the ordinary man. How are dogmas that have been communicated through symbols to be newly expressed without loss? It is a problem that is new in degree and urgency rather than in kind. As the author of this book demonstrates, Christianity has always assimilated and adapted modes of communication that had proved their worth in other religions. Mr Cope examines in detail many symbols used in the Bible and in Christian tradition, applying wide knowledge and deep insight. Not all readers will be prepared to follow him in making Jungian psychology the keystone of interpretation, even though the importance of archetypal patterns must be generally acknowledged. Nor is he fair in his brief dismissal of the work done in this field by Mascall and Farrer—an approach which he describes as "the new biblicism".

The principal fault of this book is its failure to start from a distinction between what men have devised to give understanding of the transcendental and the modes of revelation by which the transcendental has broken into immanence. The distinction is not always easy; but it is important to see that the symbolism of certain events is God-chosen symbolism and cannot be either re-expressed or explained away. There are symbols which are evangelistic and can take almost any form and symbols which are of worship and speak only from faith to faith. Nevertheless, this is a fascinating book. Perhaps its most exciting section comes at the end, when the author discusses symbols in church buildings and ornaments and the part that they can play in liturgical understanding.

RAYMOND CHAPMAN

IMMANUEL

THE CONCEPT OF GRACE. By PHILIP S. WATSON. Epworth. 10s. 6d.

THE language of Christians is said sometimes to be outside the scope of meaningful assertion, and certainly there is a great gulf fixed between the language of the theologian and that employed by our laity. What, surely, is needed is not that members of our P.C.C.'s should be given

courses from Kittel's monumental writings and editings, but that we who preach should every now and again take the trouble to explain just what we mean when we use words like "grace". But between the *Wörtebuch* and the Sunday-school lesson-book there is not much material to which the laity can be directed. We all of us know the gross misrepresentation of grace commonly illustrated by a reservoir labelled "Grace", from which seven pipes lead, with faucets designated by the seven sacraments —but short of Ryder Smith and Principal Cave, what else have we to give to the laity to read? Here, in Mr Watson's admirable little work, is the answer to the need, so far as "grace" is concerned.

It is difficult to praise this book too highly. It is marked by a sobriety (even on controversial topics) which is as welcome as it is rare, and yet the author has a lightness of touch which hides the learning and range of his reading (see, for example, the admirable statement on Dogma, and on the idea of Grace and Merit). So far as your reviewer could see, there are no problems lightly passed over, and the problems of human freedom and divine foreknowledge are faced fully. This work would be an admirable thing to put into the hands of discussion groups, and it is to be hoped that it will have a very wide circulation.

The section on baptism is—to an Anglican—so trenchantly orthodox and so wholly satisfying, that one hardly misses the absence of any extended treatment of "regeneration". But in face of the whole section, one is left wondering why so much Methodist practice is frankly lax, and so much Methodist statement on the topic Pelagian.

If your reviewer does not find Luther as consistent as apparently does Mr Watson, nevertheless this is a minor defect in an important little book. Good success to it!

C. S. Mann, o.s.b.

LITURGICAL MATTERS

What is Liturgical Preaching? By R. H. Fuller. S.C.M. 6s.

Professor Fuller deals in this small book with two related matters: the nature of the sermon at the Eucharist, and the wrongness of preaching sermons upon other occasions. The former is illustrated by theological expositions of a selection of liturgical lessons.

The book is valuable and should be read by the parochial clergy. But there is danger that it may provoke in some readers exasperation and in others an unintelligent following such as will exasperate their people. For it has to be admitted that the author writes from the olympian height of a professor's chair and does not always allow for the liturgical and pastoral circumstances of those whom he is addressing.

Professor Fuller's view of the nature of the sermon at the Eucharist arises from his belief that the Last Supper was the Passover meal or an anticipation thereof; hence the Ante-Communion, including the sermon, is to be equated with the Passover *Haggada*. This belief is no more capable of proof than is the contrary (which Professor Fuller attacks),

namely that the Ante-Communion and the Communion are in origin two entirely separate services. Furthermore, if this theory were accepted as a guide to the conduct of the Ante-Communion, it would require a lectionary which made use of an even more limited range of Holy Scripture than does that in the Prayer Book. However, Professor Fuller does not press his theory in the later part of the book; and we are left simply with the advice that the liturgical sermon should be a genuine theological exposition of the lessons and should not depend simply upon a "tag" or text therefrom, or be entirely irrelevant thereto. His examples of exposition could have been written without mentioning the *Haggada*.

But is the author even thus not binding us too straitly? Is it wicked to preach at the Eucharist about the Eucharist itself on other days than Maundy Thursday? And what are those many priests to do who address large congregations at the Communion but are faced with only a handful of people at any other service? Must they invariably offer *kerygma* and never *paraklesis*?

The wrongness of preaching sermons except at the Eucharist is made much of in the first pages of this book: it is wrong to preach unless the hearers proceed to (Eucharistic) action. It is not until nearly the end of the book, however, that we are given the obvious solution to the problem, namely that after Evensong an "instruction" should be given rather than a sermon. This practice is, of course, not unknown. Those who have given what is now loosely called "the sermon" have often been called "lecturers", and "lecture" is a more tactful title than "instruction". The difficulty is to confine such lectures to the evening. Communicants, no less than evening singers, are apt to require instruction.

Having drawn attention to Professor Fuller's remoteness from ordinary parish life, it is necessary to end by saying again that his book is to be read. But much of it should not be inwardly digested; and his statements upon liturgical history are not to be relied upon.

BERNARD WIGAN

PRAYER BOOK HERITAGE. By H. A. L. RICE. Linden Press (distributed by Centaur Press). 12s. 6d.

IN HIS Foreword, the Provost of Guildford describes this book as "Everyman's version of *Liturgy and Worship*", and the publishers express the hope that it will be of value to everybody from ordinands to "the ordinary church-goer". The latter, it is to be feared, will find the book heavy going. The former are better served by books already on the market, for while Mr Rice is academic enough in his use of the catalogue method of dealing alike with the history and with the contents of the Prayer Book, he is inclined to be inaccurate and to contradict himself. And the book suffers from a serious lack of balance and from too much prominence of the personal interests of the author in what is for the most part a text book. In the historical section, the only revisers whose work

is given serious comment are those of 1906-28. And in the expository section there is too much (for a book of this kind) of the expression of disappointment at the past and of high hopes for the future, while there is too little explanation of how the services are constructed and what they mean. This leads to the introduction of highly technical questions such as that of the *Epiclesis*, upon which the comment offered will be a stale joke to the initiated and a bewilderment to those for whom the book is written.

BERNARD WIGAN

FRESH LIGHT ON LITURGY

ANGLICAN LITURGIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES. By W. JARDINE GRISBROOKE. Alcuin Club Collections No XL. S.P.C.K. 42s.

THE view, still held by a surprisingly large number of people, that there is little of note to record in Anglican liturgical history from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century is effectively shattered by Mr Grisbrooke's valuable and scholarly book. He surveys an Anglican "liturgical movement" which starts with the Scottish rite of 1637, embraces the work of Jeremy Taylor, Edward Stephens, William Whiston, John Henley, the Non-Jurors and Thomas Rattray, and ends with the Scottish rite of 1764. In the process he provides us with a wealth of material, most of which has not been easily accessible hitherto.

Through the texts of twelve rites introduced by valuable commentaries, it is shown how in matters of faith and worship the "appeal to the primitive Church" was both the foundation and the dominant note of "high" Anglicanism during the period. In this appeal the "Clementine Liturgy" of the Apostolic Constitutions inevitably played an important part, although adherence to it was by no means as slavish as some critics in the past have suggested. The development of the doctrines of the Eucharistic presence and sacrifice is traced from the comparatively vague and hesitant forms held by Laud and his school to the elaborate and exact expositions of the later Non-Jurors. Their doctrine of "dynamic virtualism" was the classical "high" Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist.

Despite the wealth of good things which the book contains, on certain points it is open to criticism. In the first place the treatment of Cranmer is somewhat cavalier, and by no means everyone will agree with Mr Grisbrooke's whole-hearted acceptance of Dom Gregory Dix's views on the Archbishop's Eucharistic doctrine. His judgement of the Prayer Book of 1662 also tends to be harsh. Admittedly it was far from perfect and it had critics: indeed the pamphlet literature against it from 1662 onwards was greater than is often realized. None the less, it was a bastion to loyal churchmen, defending the Church against the encroachments of Popery on the one hand and Latitudinarianism on the other. One might have hoped for more detailed reference to Sancroft, Cosin,

and the "Durham Book" of 1661, in which they did, of course, adopt the Scottish Canon of 1637 with only some small change and without altering its order. This could have been done, perhaps, at the expense of John Henley, who has little more than "curiosity" value.

The book really needs a good Introductory Essay instead of a rather sketchy Preface of less than six pages. Here this liturgical movement could have been placed in its setting and contrasted favourably with the attempts at revision on the other side, of which Dr Clark's Liturgy, Jones' *Candid Disquisitions*, and the abortive official efforts of 1689 were prominent features. In the process the Prayer Book of 1662 might have appeared in rather more favourable light. The attempts of the other side might appear feeble and devoid of liturgical merit, but we should not forget the words of Edmund Bishop, who once wrote that it was necessary to study the forms of the whole range of the communities who claim to be Christians for a full and real understanding of Liturgy.

R. C. D. JASPER

RUSSELL'S TESTAMENT

MY PHILOSOPHICAL DEVELOPMENT. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. Allen and Unwin. 18s.

MR BERTRAND RUSSELL has collected in this book some of his earlier writings of the period when he was an idealist and has given an account of the development of his thought since he abandoned idealism for realism and empiricism. To this he has added some autobiographical material of interest. On any view Mr Russell has been one of the major intellectual figures of our time and on this account alone the book would be worth reading. It is, however, valuable also as a guide to the conclusions in which he has come to at least a temporary rest and the second chapter, "My Present View of the World" will be welcome to those who have wished for a compendious statement of his philosophy. He admits frankly his "initial bias": "I accept without qualification the view that results from astronomy and geology, from which it would appear that there is no evidence of anything mental except in a tiny fragment of space-time, and that the great processes of nebular and stellar evolution proceed according to laws in which mind plays no part". Perhaps it is not altogether surprising that his conception of the universe has no place for values and only a very questionable place for mind. With deep respect for the long and candid labour of thought which has gone to the production of his series of distinguished works, a Christian, and indeed any theist, must feel that, in the end, he presents us with a universe which can only be described as majestic nonsense—a vast and intricate system without meaning.

W. R. MATTHEWS

PHILOSOPHER-MYSTIC

MEISTER ECKHART: SELECTED TREATISES AND SERMONS. Translated by J. M. CLARK and J. V. SKINNER. Faber. 21s.

THE thirteenth-century Dominican seems to be coming into his own again as a spiritual guide, if not as a philosophical leader. The present collection of his writings will help to confirm the tendency in both its affirmative and negative aspects. Not even the excellent translation can make the more philosophical section easy reading. Indeed one needs some knowledge of medieval metaphysics to understand it all.

Readers in search of spiritual enlightenment will turn more eagerly to the translations from the German than to those from the Latin. There they will find a whole system built upon the basis, "Man comes from God in the creation and returns to him in the mystic union". They will also find a grace of style that not infrequently expresses itself in charming aphorisms. "The deeper the well, the higher it is. Height and depth are the same thing." "God is a God of the present." "The only regret of the sinner should be that he acted against God." "There is no suffering or loss without some comfort, neither is there any loss that is sheer loss."

There is a useful introduction, together with a full bibliography.

W.W.

A CRYPTIC SCIENCE

THE O-STRUCTURE. AN INTRODUCTION TO PSYCHOPHYSICAL COSMOLOGY. By C. C. L. GREGORY, and ANITA KOHSEN. Institute for the Study of Mental Images. 21s.

WHETHER this intriguing and in part cryptic book is an important one I find it hard to say. Certainly the writers, and the Institute for the Study of Mental Images which they represent, have a strong sense of the urgency of the new science (for it is primarily a science rather than a philosophy) which they are proclaiming. And in broad principle they are right. It must be true that the different universes of discourse, those of the astronomer-physicist, of the mystic, of the psychological analyst, and of the plain man, are in the last resort one. In this extremely well documented work five such universes are outlined and the delineations are forcible and eminently readable. The book would be easier if it attempted to work out a philosophy, finding links, as the authors suggest, with Hume, Bergson, Whitehead, and Dingle. What it actually does is to attempt the construction of a scientific model, defined in the mathematical symbolism of Einstein, Eddington, Dirac, and Planck, and in a form which, though familiar to experts in cybernetics, is beyond the grasp of all but exceptional readers. The O-Structure is intended to be more than a theory. It is meant as a working model to give practical guidance in solving the problems of mental stress with

which the psychiatrist and the sociologist are concerned, and to point to the solution of the large-scale international issues of to-day. All that I can say is "Good luck to it". The O-Structure is too technical for me, and will be, until I can understand what popperisation means. But the book, with its invaluable collection of references, is very well worth reading all the same.

L. W. GRENSTED

RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

REASONS AND FAITHS. By NINIAN SMART. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 25s.

IN THIS very able book religious discourse is examined comparatively and philosophically by linguistic analysis with a view to showing the bearing of this method of inquiry on the numinous, the mystical, and the incarnational types of religion. Those familiar with the modern trend of logical verbal analysis will find the investigation both stimulating and instructive, though certainly it cannot be said to be an easy book either in its content or presentation. Nevertheless, the effort required to follow the main thesis is very well worth while even if this positivist technique often may not break very much new ground. In this case the purpose is to describe the nature of the doctrines and concepts brought under review quite apart from their truth or falsity.

With this aim in view Mr Smart has concentrated chiefly on certain fundamental beliefs in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Christianity, and in the two opening chapters his analysis of the Upanishadic concept of Brahman is most illuminating. He shows that Brahman, meaning sacred power/energy, as the highest principle in the universe, the *mysterium tremendum*, is the object of worship "marked off" from yet "hidden away" in the phenomenal order. Being the underlying reality in existence, "the reality of reality" of the empirical world, the impersonal Absolute is not far removed from the monotheistic concept of Deity, even though it permeates the universe in a pantheistic manner. Thus, when the natural environment is said to be Brahman it is not as "a visible conglomeration of entities" that phenomena are envisioned, but as "a series of panoramas" in a finite whole" pictured "as the product of Brahman", the unity of all things. Being inside the world as well as beyond it, Brahman is near and so can be realized in mystical experience. And to the mystical quest and its goal a good deal of attention is paid in the second section of the volume.

In this connection the conception of nirvana in southern Buddhism is investigated and analysed as the mystical path around which Hinayana is built "even though there are extraneous manifestations of theism and polytheism". It is recognized, however, that "those who say that the southern Buddhists, in speaking of nirvana, are really speaking much the same thing as Christians are talking about in talking about

God, can indeed point to certain similarities between the concepts. But the differences are equally vital for an understanding of their nature."

In the third strand in spiritual discourse Incarnation is treated primarily in relation to the Christian doctrine in a knowledgeable, reverent, and edifying manner. Sinlessness and the power to save are shown to be fundamental traits in a theistic conception of an incarnate God; a suffering Saviour "performing the function of being an adequate sacrifice to expiate the sins of mankind". Moreover, he is held "to expiate vicariously the sins of others in a communal gesture" as a member of the human race. In this capacity he is the representative of humanity, and brought into relation with the resurrection it is shown that "death is in fact mastered". The institution of the Eucharist in this context is likened to the handing over of the keys of a city rather than the hauling down of a flag as a symbolic act.

Finally, moral discourse is represented as an independent strand because, as is contended, moral propositions are extrinsic to religious ones. But throughout the history of religion spiritual and moral concepts are so interwoven that it is exceedingly difficult to make one independent of the other either historically or functionally, whatever may be said in favour of treating them as different "superimposed" strands for the purposes of religious discourse.

E. O. James

THE PLACE OF OUR EXILE

The Godly and the Ungodly. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Faber. 21s.

Your reviewer confesses quite happily that he is totally incapable of being fair to this book, since he is beside himself with enthusiasm for it. He must on that account be reckoned a prejudiced witness, but he ought not to be condemned as such by those who have not had the fortune to read the work.

Left to his own devices, your reviewer would sandwich this book of essays on his shelves between Professor Popper's *The Open Society and its Enemies* and Père Daniélou's *Essai sur le Mystère de l'Histoire*, and in a very real sense Niebuhr's symposium is commentary on both. Of it, the first thing to be said is that its size is wholly deceptive (150 pages including the indexes) and it is possible to read it in a day. Yet there is material here, from one of the outstanding thinkers of our time, for more than a library of argument. Hardly a word is wasted, and there is not an unneccessary sentence in the whole book. Its theme can best be described quite indirectly: Is it nothing more than coincidence that the prominence of biblical theology in the last thirty years has been accompanied by a consuming interest, on the part of Christians and non-Christians alike, in the philosophy of history? Professor Niebuhr does not answer this question, and in fact does not pose it, but all his essays are here concerned with man and his place in the cosmos—and with

man's attempts to rationalize that place. The resultant mosaic is vast, and some of the pieces are pure gold. The author ranges easily from Little Rock to Leningrad, from Augustine to Pascal, the Fifth-Monarchy men to modern democracy, from atomic war to pietism, the frontier-churches of America to modern evangelism and Billy Graham. "The final question about our existence is whether it makes sense. An obvious answer to that question is that it does not make sense as simply as either the pietists or the rationalists assume. Life is full of contradictions and incongruities, not to speak of its tragic dissonances" (p.123).

It was time that the assumptions of the vocabulary of "Western civilisation" and "the democratic way of life" were examined and appraised at their proper valuation. We are deeply in the debt of a devoted Christian who has done so with pungency and without clamour. If this book is largely addressed to the men of the forty-nine States of the Union, then let us, before we conclude that European culture is as safe as a rock, read chapter three. It is not only governments which hold out the carrot of immediate award to those who will study technology.

C. S. MANN, O.S.B.

IN PRAISE OF HEGEL

HEGEL: A RE-EXAMINATION. By J. N. FINDLAY. Allen and Unwin. 35s.

ONE of the most stimulating papers to appear in the Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society in recent years was Professor Findlay's "Some Merits of Hegelianism" (1955). Its central thesis was that the contemporary devaluation of Hegel (Hegel as the arch-speculator, the symbol of all that modern analytic philosophy repudiates) comes from a sadly distorted view of his thought. This paper made at least one of its readers hope that Professor Findlay would develop his rehabilitation of Hegel in a full and detailed commentary. This, happily, he has now done. *Hegel: A Re-Examination* would count as a remarkable achievement, if considered simply as an elucidation and exposition of Hegel's main writings: the chapters on *The Phenomenology of Spirit* in particular make that fantastically difficult book far more intelligible than one would have believed possible. Indeed, to follow through, with Findlay's guidance, that rich and complex progression from the simplest forms of consciousness to those proper to art, religion, and philosophy, is an adventurous and rewarding spiritual pilgrimage—a pilgrimage that the obscurity of Hegel's own writing has hitherto made a scarcely possible journey for most English readers.

In subsequent chapters, Findlay expounds Hegel's logic, philosophy of nature, of subjective spirit, his theories of law, politics, history, aesthetics, philosophy of religion, and the history of philosophy. The book ends with a summing-up and re-assessment of the Hegelian philosophy as a whole.

Expository skill is by no means the sole merit of this study. The controversial, challenging nature of Findlay's interpretation will become

plain by simply mentioning one or two of his claims. "As a philosopher, Hegel believes in no God and no Absolute except one that is revealed and known in certain experiences of individual human beings . . . " That is to say, Hegel's philosophy of religion gives no place to transcendents. The *empiricist* features of Hegel's thought are emphasized throughout: and (most outrageously, from the standpoint of the "current view" of Hegel) Findlay dares to call him in some sense an *anti*-metaphysician. His philosophy is "one that *remains* most within the pale of ordinary experience, and which accords no place to entities or properties lying beyond that experience, or to facts undiscoverable by ordinary methods of investigation". Findlay finds some highly twentieth-century-sounding features in Hegel's method and insights—his concern with the *fluidity* of many important concepts, the "mental cramp" that results from subservience to other, too *rigid* notions, the importance of concepts that are "polar opposites". Findlay can be unreservedly critical of Hegel's less plausible dialectical "transitions"; and his forthrightness on these issues makes his reader all the more ready to share his enthusiasm for Hegel's real merits.

Ultimately, Findlay sees Hegel's system as "an aesthetic philosophy, one whose role it is to see things variously and pregnantly, and also to combine its varied, pregnant visions into an unbelievably fine synthesis of kaleidoscopic variety and well-balanced unity". This is an eminently well-supported interpretation of Hegel's work: and, because of this, it is perhaps a pity that Findlay did not devote a more substantial part of the book to Hegel's own *specifically* aesthetic writings. The book, however, is necessarily a lengthy one as it stands. If it turns its readers back to the pages of Hegel themselves with new expectations and a clearer notion of what to find there, it will have amply done its work.

RONALD W. HEPBURN

REASON AND RELIGION

PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. By DAVID ELTON TRUEBLOOD. Rockliff. 35s.

DR TRUEBLOOD is a Quaker, and Professor of Philosophy at Earlham College. In the preface to this book he acknowledges his debt to "Whitehead, Temple, Maritain, Tillich, Niebuhr and many more". His book is divided into five parts headed respectively The Logic of Religion, Theistic Realism, Challenges to Faith, Enduring Problems, and Summation.

The section on Theistic Realism deals briefly with the traditional proofs of God. It has a longer treatment of the argument from moral experience, and the less familiar argument from aesthetic experience; and a valuable chapter on the evidence of historical experience has a philosophical assessment of the recovered insights of Biblical Theology. The challenges to faith are those of Dialectical Materialism, Freud, and Logical Positivism. A note on the cover includes the name of Sartre, but his name does not appear in the comprehensive index. The treatment in these chapters is useful, if somewhat slight. In each case Dr Trueblood

seeks "to keep the grain and dismiss the chaff". It is interesting for instance, but typical of his breadth of approach, to find a Quaker and an American writing: "The Leninist combination of matter and mind is even reminiscent of the sacramental theory of the universe in which natural things can become means of grace." His description of Logical Positivism as "a form of extreme poverty of the intellect" is interesting to compare with the saying about an earlier generation, who sought to substitute testing for trusting: "They tempted God in the desert. And he gave them their desire: and sent leanness withal into their soul." The section Summation (a rare Americanism), concludes the book with a discussion of the traditional themes, God, Freedom, and Immortality.

Dr Trueblood discusses profound themes with a singularly clear and lucid style of writing. His book can hardly fail to be of value to any reader who is prepared to agree that "we do not understand the answers if we read only the answers", and that an "unexamined faith is not worth having".

✠ Geoffrey Derby

EMPIRICAL METAPHYSICS

Reality, Reason and Religion. By A. A. Vogel. Longmans. 30s.

Dr Vogel here defends a traditional metaphysical position against positivist criticisms and attempts to show the religious implications of his philosophical view. Taking his start from Aristotle he attacks phenomenalistic theories of causation inasmuch as they deny necessity to causal efficacy; and they do this because they are not in the fullest sense empirical. For what Dr Vogel calls "the empirical science of metaphysics" recognizes as its universal and immediate subject-matter *being*. This is ignored by philosophical approaches based upon the experimental sciences; being cannot be experimented with, for everything manifests it and Mill's method of difference (for instance) cannot be applied to it. Yet an investigation of being helps us to understand causality: the act of existence is the fundamental aspect of being and is the source of all the dynamism in the world. And when this basic act is limited within essence, it reveals itself as a tendency to one thing rather than to another—and this is the basis of efficient causation. Since existence is the dynamic source of causality, the latter cannot be made conceptually clear, but its occurrence is not in doubt. This rehabilitation of the concept *cause* encourages Dr Vogel to make use of the cosmological argument. After a discussion of Stace's irrationalism and of free will, he concludes with a criticism of Tillich's charge that the God of the metaphysician must be a dead God. By analogical reasoning, God must have some similarity to the fundamental dynamic aspect of creatures—and so God is dynamic fullness and activity: he is Life itself, and so far from dead.

Although Dr Vogel spends time discussing the views of Ayer, Popper, and others on causation, it is strange that he does not defend

his use of "existence" in the light of modern criticisms of such uses. Moreover, his reinterpretation of Aristotelianism in an "existentialist" manner involves appeal to notions like *dynamic* and *tendency* which seems intelligible because of their ordinary-language background, though they might turn out to be obscure when scrutinized closely. Nor is it self-evident, even given the metaphysical concept of causality, that the cosmological argument still stands. And one can sympathize, despite Dr Vogel's strictures, with Tillich's thinking that a God who is discovered through an apparatus of metaphysical terminology is not obviously identical with the living God, though Tillich himself is probably liable to the same criticism. But this book presents a fairly liberal metaphysical position which is not uninteresting.

NINIAN SMART

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ORGANISM

THE PHILOSOPHY OF WHITEHEAD. By W. MAYS. Allen and Unwin. 25s.

FEW people would deny that Whitehead was one of the outstanding philosophers of the period between the two wars, yet of those who admit this claim there are probably not many who read *Process and Reality*, or who having tried to read it, have not been defeated by its formidable difficulties of language and thought. He has indeed had several interpreters during the last thirty years, but the interpretations do not agree, and the recent developments of philosophy in the direction of the analysis of linguistic usage have tended to leave him on one side. That is indeed likely to be the fate of any thinker, however profound, who forces the common usages of language to wholly unnatural meanings and who is, in addition, obscure in the extreme. It is thus a valuable addition to the Muirhead Library of Philosophy that we should have this careful, well-documented, and critical survey of Whitehead's philosophy. All the words and phrases, such as "prehensions", the "realm of eternal objects", "the method of extensive abstraction", which characterize Whitehead's argument are interpreted in their proper setting. Even more important is the exposition of the use by Whitehead of such a term as "feeling" in a sense wholly divorced from anything psychological and as a function of physical "objects". It is clear that this has completely misled some of Whitehead's interpreters, and small wonder. But it also enabled Whitehead to identify the quanta of physical energy with something closely resembling the "emotional appetitive elements in our conscious experience". It is this that gives his philosophy of organism something of the character of a metaphysic. Metaphysics have latterly been out of fashion, though they show signs of renewed vitality. But those who have tended to set Whitehead aside on this score may be interested to read this latest study, with its insistence upon his honouring of physical theory and upon the significance for his later work of his early share in *Principia Mathematica*, and of his

recognition of algebra as providing the one kind of language capable at once of precision and generalization. A good book, but not by any means an easy one.

L.W. GRENSTED

ATOMIC PHYSICS

PHYSICS AND PHILOSOPHY: THE REVOLUTION IN MODERN SCIENCE. By WERNER HEISENBERG. Allen and Unwin. 15s.

IN RECENT years Gifford Lecturers have been allowed increasing latitude in interpreting the terms of the founder's bequest. Dr Karl Barth's lectures in 1937-8 on *The Knowledge of God and the Service of God* were justified on the ground that in arguing against the legitimacy of natural theology Dr Barth was at any rate talking about it. Dr Heisenburg's lectures, delivered at St Andrews in 1955-6, have, as far as one can see, no relation to theology whatever. They do, however, provide, for those who are competent to follow them, a very interesting account of the present state of atomic physics and there is nobody better qualified than he is to speak on this subject. It is, nevertheless, doubtful whether he has achieved that clarity of exposition on the popular level which Lord Gifford desiderated and to which most of the lecturers on his foundation have at least approximated.

Dr Heisenberg stands forward as a vigorous supporter of the so-called Copenhagen interpretation of the quantum theory, which looks upon the principle of indeterminacy as fundamental and irreducible, in contrast to such thinkers as Einstein, De Broglie, Bohm, and Landé, who seek for and believe in a reinterpretation of the principle on deterministic lines. Heisenberg's own view, which is not entirely easy to follow, sees the basic equations of the quantum theory, with their emphasis upon probability, as concerned with something very like potentiality (*dynamis*) as Aristotle conceived it, and he thus avoids the quasi-Kantian subjectivism of many Copenhagenists. In particular he escapes that confusion between knowledge and physical observation which, as Reichenberg pointed out (*Philosophic Foundations of Quantum Mechanics*, p.15), has trapped many modern philosophers of science. In his final chapter, in which he touches upon matters of wider interest, he shows a hopeful, though qualified, confidence in the power of modern physics to unify and pacify the modern world.

Dr Heisenberg's book would be even more valuable than it is if he had shown a little more consideration for his readers. There are a larger number of uncorrected slips than is usual in a book of this kind, and he has a quite infuriating practice of referring, often in an only partly informative way, to the work of other scientists without giving any indication whatever of the books or papers in which accounts of their work can be found. Professor F. S. C. Northrop contributes an interesting and appreciative introduction.

E. L. MASCALL

THE RELIGION OF NATURE

REVELATION THROUGH REASON. By ERROL E. HARRIS. Allen and Unwin. 15s.

THIS book of apologetics is the most acute analysis in the short space of 119 pages of the problem of the reconciliation of Christian theology with modern scientific and philosophical thought that has appeared for several years. The author's discussion of the problem of evil is outstandingly good. His style is precise and clear but his brevity does not always make for easy reading.

Professor Harris (Connecticut College) denies the commonly accepted distinction between the spheres of religion and science and maintains that "both claim our total allegiance, both penetrate every detail of our lives". Ultimately both truths are the same, the conflict being not between science and religion but between progress and reaction. He believes that a re-interpretation of Christianity is possible and necessary "on the basis of modern scientific ideas and their philosophical consequences". But his position is the antithesis of that of Karl Heim.

To Professor Harris the total picture of the universe is that of a scale of forms with God as its culmination—"the end is nothing more nor less than the self-fulfilment and self-realization of an infinite being, in, through, and as the scale of forms which is constituted by the process of development". (One is reminded of Whitehead.) This theme, especially this particular expression of it, is open to obvious criticism but, nevertheless, the way in which Professor Harris has consistently worked it out and his re-interpretation of the old teleological, cosmological, and ontological "proofs" is well worth careful attention.

C. T. CHAPMAN

BOND OR FREE?

THE FREEDOM OF THE WILL. By AUSTIN FARRER. A. and C. Black, 28s.

UNLESS we are prepared to accept a Calvinistic determinism, based upon a doctrine of election, it is essential to maintain a limited freedom of will if the traditional Christian doctrine of man is to be preserved. Such a statement is so obvious as to be platitudinous. It is equally obvious that the concepts of free-will and real responsibility are under heavy fire nowadays from determinists. In spite of this it might well be thought that there is not at present any more that could usefully be said on either side in this conflict. Yet Dr Farrer has said it.

There is no point in attempting the impossible task of summarizing in a few words the gist of his detailed and complex arguments because the great value of Dr Farrer's Gifford Lectures lies not so much in what he says as in the way he says it. The arguments against physiological determinism are not in substance new but the penetration of his critical analysis, so typical of his clear and subtle intellect, is a truly great and

valuable contribution to the controversy at this time. The final word cannot be said yet because the gap between the two processes, mental and physical, has not been bridged (and may never be) by the science of neurology. The strength of the determinists' position lies largely in the confident attitude engendered by the increasing knowledge of this comparatively new branch of scientific investigation. Consequently, to point out the inherent illogicality of determinism has little effect. It is only by painstaking, close reasoning, along the lines of an empirical approach, that any real impression can be made on the determinists' faith. This is what Dr Farrer does with telling effect. His method is one that will appeal to the scientific mind. Inevitably it means that some readers will think that what is said could have been as well said in fewer words. But this is not so. The unscientific mind must submit to the discipline of the scientist and have patience. If he does his patience will be well rewarded.

There are instances of unnecessarily awkward and obscure phraseology but these are more than offset by passages of remarkable clarity of perception and expression: "A decision is not something we fulfil, it is something we create.—I, the decider, rebel against the implied definition of myself as the fulfiller, not the maker, of a destiny." Yet the determinist "goes on believing that causal determination determines *ab ante* the act which is enjoyed and exercised as self-determining; and, what is more, determines that it should be experienced as what it is not". "Why is it that a man with a decision to make thinks in a way incompatible with the simultaneous entertainment of deterministic ideas about what, in deciding, he will be doing?" Because "a man cannot set himself to decide what he views as decided" the determinist can apply his scientific method only after the event and must allow, before it, a personal approach and description, involving choice and purpose. "Is it perhaps that in practice libertariansm and determinism are not so much alternative beliefs as rival emphases?".

C. T. Chapman.

VISUAL AIDS GALORE

Churches, Artists and People. The Thirteenth Report of the Central Council for the Care of Churches. Church Information Board. 3s. By post 3s. 6d.

Churches and cathedrals provide one of the principal tourist attractions of the British Isles, not only for the overseas visitor but also for those native inhabitants who seldom go inside them to attend a service. Ardent brass rubbers, amateur archaeologists, connoisseurs with a special interest in eighteenth-century sculpture, or the York school of glass painters, and ordinary Mums and Dads on holiday flow in and out of them all through the summer months.

Many of those who are unwilling to hear with their ears are responsive to visual aids, and in the possession of 17,000 churches,

nearly two-thirds of which are historic buildings, the Church has the finest visual aid imagination could conceive. The pity is that the value of this asset is not always realized, and clergy and people are content with too low a standard in the furnishing and arrangement of their churches. Reforming zeal, which by injudicious and over-hasty change upsets the existing congregation, is to be deprecated, but in most parishes a carefully conceived long-term policy of improvement can do wonderful things to increase the dignity of worship by providing a more orderly setting and worthier furnishings.

The Central Council for the Care of Churches, in thirty-eight years, has produced only thirteen Reports, but for anyone who has collected the set they provide a really helpful guide to the care of the buildings themselves and their contents. They have concentrated more and more in recent years on the improvement of the standard of new work, and in this number there is an article on relations between the arts and religion by Tony Bridge, who spent twenty years as a practising artist before his ordination; and a guide to modern stained glass by the Dean of York. The pressing problem of redundant churches is put into more hopeful light by an architect who describes, with plans and photographs, the effective recent conversion of some town churches to new use—while organs and methods of heating are dealt with in language understandable by the non-expert.

With a survey of recent events by the Dean of Gloucester, and sixteen pages of illustrations, it is good value for a modest three shillings, but it is a pity that the section given to reviews of the year's books on the arts of the Church is in such painfully small print.

O. H. Gibbs-Smith

PRAYING

He Sent Leanness. By David Head. Epworth. 6s.
A Preacher's Prayer Book. Edited by Clement Pugsley. Epworth. 8s. 6d.

The author of *He Sent Leanness* tells us that "This book may show us how we pray; it is only the Spirit of God who can show us how we ought to pray". He therefore strives to prepare the way for the coming of the Spirit by a devastating and often amusing analysis of what our prayers are sometimes like. Such shock, however, as is administered is mild indeed compared with that which comes from frequent reading and meditating on the words of the Bible; so presumably the book is written in the first place for those who take religion too solemnly, and for conventional churchgoers who have not grown up in prayer, and for whom the Bible is neither a hammer, nor a sword, nor a fire, but "a legend emptied of concern".

Those, however, who love prayer and know some of its glories as well as its difficulties, will discover here many things finely said. Such noble

passages inspire the hope that another book from the author will give us a larger measure of these, and rather less of the facetious asides.

Although written by a Methodist minister, *A Preacher's Prayer Book* should be a great help in the conduct of worship to most clergy of other denominations serving congregations and occupied in many kinds of administration.

The first part of this book, under the headings of Adoration, Thanksgiving, Confession, Petition, Intercession, Dedication, is concerned with worship on ordinary Sundays (morning and evening). In the second part are set out prayers and subjects for prayer for special Sundays and seasons of the Church's calendar. In Part Three the author deals with occasions, Remembrance Sunday, Harvest Festival, etc. The prayers are chosen from many sources; a few are too long, and a few rather academically phrased, but the general standard is high, and the tone stimulating as well as devotional.

The Dean of York would doubtless be flattered to have the fine prayer on page 18, "Eternal God, the light of the minds that know Thee . . ." attributed to him, and he certainly uses it in his own book *After The Third Collect*. The prayer, however, is older than the Dean of York, and comes from the *Gelasian Sacramentary*.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

PREACHING

EIGHT LECTURES ON PREACHING. By PHILLIPS BROOKS. S.P.C.K. 9s. 6d.

S.P.C.K. have done the clergy a great service in re-publishing *Eight Lectures on Preaching*, by Phillips Brooks, during the centenary year of his ordination.

These lectures, originally delivered at Yale Divinity School in 1877, have never been surpassed for their relevance and profundity. Phillips Brooks was a parish priest for over thirty years before becoming Bishop of Washington, and is therefore able to use his lectures on preaching as a means of bringing before us his ideals of priesthood. Dr Moorman, in his admirable introduction, says rightly "Into this book Phillips Brooks poured his deepest convictions. It is his Confession, for it contains not only advice about the art of preaching, but as good a picture as we can find anywhere of the Christian priest and his ministry". This is an ageless book, to be read again and again all through a priest's life.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

CONVERTING

WHAT IS EVANGELISM? By DOUGLAS WEBSTER. Highway Press. 5s.

THE author of this book modestly disclaims originality, and declares his intention of being a middleman to bring together the thoughts of many writers and evangelists. His quotations are excellent, and the references given should lead many to further reading.

After a brief survey of evangelism since the first world war, and some comparision of evangelism and modern methods of propaganda, Mr Webster goes on to deal with the problem of communication; and we have some of his best writing as he deals with the approach to the intellectuals and the industrial masses. He emphasizes the need for what he calls "the ministry of listening", and gives a long quotation from Bonhoeffer, where he says "Ministers so often think they must always contribute something when they are in the company of others . . . . They forget that listening can be a greater service than speaking."

The following chapters on New Testament Clues, Four Ways of Evangelism, and Conversion would be specially useful for group discussions, and these would find additional help in the concise summaries at the end of each chapter.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

A MODERN "SERIOUS CALL"

HOMEWARDS: SOME ESSAYS IN CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS. By HERBERT GRESFORD JONES. S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.

THE photograph of Bishop Gresford Jones at seventy-six which appears as the frontispiece gives a very good idea of the character of these twenty-three short sermons, introduced by an essay on Preachers and Preaching. The expression is quizzical, tolerant, kindly. The deeply-lined forehead and sensitive mouth speak of a deep concern for the evils of our age, but the eyes are full of compassion and humour. The pectoral cross consorts strangely with the shabby Sarum cassock and the over-large plastic collar. In short, here is an Anglican bishop of the best type, no arrogant prelate but a holy and humble man of heart, learned yet childlike, a Ken rather than a Laud.

The introductory memoir recalls the author's background at Cambridge and the preachers with whom he came into contact there. He was at Wycliffe Hall under F. J. Chavasse (father of the present Bishop of Rochester), served his title in a Mersey-side parish, and worked as a parish priest in the industrial north until his consecration in 1920. The chief formative influences appear to have been men of the extreme evangelical school (he was Vicar of St John's Keswick, for two years) but he writes with admiration of Gore, Lang, and Scott Holland.

The sub-title is misleading. Only the first four sermons are "essays in apologetics". The remainder are straight-forward homilies on matters of faith or morals, simple, direct, illustrated with a wealth of homely images and literary quotation. At times his zeal for "getting alongside" his audience leads him into bathos; as where, in a sermon addressed to firemen in 1907 he says, "We cannot forget that other Salvage upon which the heart of our great Chief Officer is ever intent". Elsewhere he appears to exalt total abstinence to the level of the Decalogue, and to give the impression that religion is to be valued primarily for its social

benefits, or God served for the sake of his rewards. Nobody who knew the bishop would credit him with such beliefs.

ROBIN ANSTEY

TOWARDS SPIRITUAL MATURITY

CHRISTIAN PROFICIENCY. By MARTIN THORNTON. S.P.C.K. 17s. 6d.

THE Reverend Martin Thornton is a priest of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd in Cambridge, who has already caused much interest, and not a little controversy, with his *Pastoral Theology: A Reorientation*. In this he urged that the "Faithful Remnant"—what, in another tradition might be called the "gathered congregation"—should have priority in pastoral organization. It is for the members of this inner group that he has now written *Christian Proficiency*, for the faithful, the serious but perfectly "ordinary" Christians, who do not aim to be particularly "pious" or "devout", but wish to be efficient. Efficiency is something the modern world admires and understands; and Fr Thornton has a gift for discovering spiritual analogies from activities in which efficiency is important, whether it be driving a car or washing up the dinner dishes. He also draws many parallels with cricket, so that one wonders whether his book will prove quite so valuable in those parts of the Anglican Communion where the game is little known, as it is likely to do in England, Australia, and the West Indies.

The efficient Christian life—and Fr Thornton does not scruple to call it *technically* efficient—is portrayed as the life of Rule; and Rule has its basis in the Mass, the Office, and Private Prayer. These are not to be regarded as separate things but different aspects of a co-ordinated activity sustaining daily life in the world. Rule does not necessarily mean more prayer, or attendance at more services. What it means is "pattern, design, shape, system, balance". In this disciplined life familiar forms of words acquire a new significance. Thus Fr Thornton can compare the collect for the eighth Sunday after Trinity with that for Whitsunday, and show how "protection and dependence give way to guidance and co-operation; the first collect springs to mind as we enter the operating theatre, the second as we enter the examination room". For the proficient the Christian Year springs to life in a new way: life is not a succession of week-days and Sundays; and if, for any reason, a Sunday is missed, "he is conscious of missing, not Sunday, but Trinity X, or Lent II, or Epiphany IV, or whatever it is".

It will be seen that the Rule as advocated is based on Anglican formularies. And yet Fr Thornton's Anglicanism is not everybody's; he is clearly puzzled about advice he should give to an Evangelical Churchman—for whom the word "Mass", which is such a stranger to the Prayer Book, is not likely to be particularly palatable. It is not every one who will accept the equation of the Kingdom of God with the Church (p. 23) nor approve the dictum, quoted from Dr Mascall (who is

throughout regarded almost as a second Aquinas), that it is not so much "parish Communion", however impressive it may look, that gives the greatest theological expression to the fact of Christian unity, but half a dozen groups hearing Mass at six altars in one church. The identification of Puritanism with Manicheeism is the kind of half-truth which befogs theological controversy; and the statement, on page 160, that the Puritan or Manichee looks on prime beef steak as a snare of the devil strikes this reviewer as ignorant and silly.

Neverthless there is much wisdom in these chapters on Spiritual Direction—"a very close, intimate, and subtle relation"—Rule, Recollection, Mental Prayer, Colloquy—"the intimate, personal, informal conversation between the soul and God"—Self-examination and Confession, which many a reader, conscious of his own lack of proficiency, will desire to build into his practice of the Christian faith. Books of this kind need to be written: inefficient Christianity is a poor witness to the Master. Had the book come from a different Anglican tradition the vocabulary would have been partly different—and perhaps there would not have been the same need to provide a glossary at the end. There might have been more about "quiet times" and more about Bible study (for which even the Lessons, Epistles, and Gospels are no substitute), more about the stewardship of possessions and the discovery of personal service as a means of grace, a greater realization of the spiritual wealth that is to be discovered even in divided Protestantism. There is no one pattern of Christian proficiency. We have much to learn from others —and not least, it may be, from Puritans.

H. G. G. Herklots

FOOLS FOR CHRIST

Human Culture and the Holy. By Jaroslav Pelikan. S.C.M. 15s.

Those who wince at the title may not be reassured by the sub-title "Essays on the True, the Good and the Beautiful". But the original title under which these six essays were published in Philadelphia in 1955 was *Fools for Christ*, and that may be more encouraging. The "fools" in question are Kierkegaard and St Paul, Dostoevsky and Luther, Nietzsche and Bach, bracketted thus in pairs. What they have in common is the refusal to think of God as "domesticated in a value". The holy cannot be equated with goodness nor with truth nor with beauty. Any such equation would be idolatry. God is more than the perfection of any of them.

But if a man has first a real experience of God incarnate in Jesus Christ, then all things, including a true understanding of goodness, truth, and beauty shall be added unto him.

The author, who is the Professor of Historical Theology in the University of Chicago, and an authority on the works of Martin Luther, writes with clarity against a background of wide reading. There are times when he recalls Berdyaev's compassionate understanding of the

religious criticism of religion. Some readers will find the treatment of the middle pair of "fools" and especially that of Dostoevsky particularly appealing. But all who desire to clarify their thoughts about the relation between God and human intellect, ethics, and art should find this book helpful.

R. M. FRENCH

THE WIND OF THE SPIRIT

LISTEN TO THE WIND. By DOUGLAS WEBSTER. Highway Press. 2s. 6d.

COME IN. By KATHLEEN CARPENTER. Highway Press. 3s. 6d.

"IF THE Church is to survive", writes Douglas Webster in the opening chapter of *Listen to the Wind*, "the wind of the Spirit must blow through it unchecked." All that follows demonstrates in terms of the contemporary Church, the power of the Holy Spirit to inspire and to subdue. Kathleen Carpenter in *Come In* has a similar story to tell. Both books are full of personal accounts of men and women who have found forgiveness and fulfilment in Christ through the influence upon them of the Holy Spirit.

Mr Webster's book concerns itself with all the regions where the Church Missionary Society is at work—West and East Africa, the Middle East, Pakistan, India, and East Asia. Each section is illuminated by a sketch of the economic and political background. He has an exciting tale to tell and presents it in a style that is racy and invigorating. His numerous quotations from the reports of missionaries are apt and arresting.

Mrs Carpenter's book is a sequel to her well known *The Password is Love*. It looks back over a decade of patient work within the Chinese "new villages" of Malaya and describes how clinics, literacy work, visual aids, and direct evangelism (powerfully aided by the laity) go forward together. Although Holy Communion is described as the "great central act of worship" not a great deal of attention is given to it in this book. On the other hand many facets of Christian doctrine are clearly related to the everyday life of the new villages and represented convincingly in simple, realistic forms. "Our job", writes Mrs Carpenter, "is to introduce people to the Lord Jesus. It is the work of the Holy Spirit to convert them."

A. E. A. SULSTON

SERMONS IN STONES

TEMPLES AND FAITHS. Edited by WALTER JAMES. Skeffington. 18s.

IN TEN distinguished essays written by experts within their own fields, an attempt is made to consider eight forms of religion in the light of the architecture that expressed them. Three essays are devoted to the Christian religion and one is on the subject of prehistoric religion glimpsed through the exquisite cave drawings of Palaeolithic man. The

remaining six deal with the ancient religions of Greece, Hinduism, Buddhism, Shintoism, Islam, and the medieval Judaism of Toledo. Every essay is illustrated by one or more photographs some of which are unusual.

The value of the book is not easy to assess. For one thing it has no consistent purpose. Whereas the essays on Judaism, on the medieval cathedral (concerned exclusively and historically with Canterbury Cathedral), and on the holy city of Byzantium concentrate almost entirely on architecture and do little more than glance at the inner content of the Christian religion and of the Jewish faith, the essay on Buddhism has nothing to say about architecture or art and confines itself to an analysis of Buddhist doctrine. The other essays succeed in outlining some of the doctrines of the religions with which they deal and in illustrating the emergence of distinctive types of architecture from those doctrines. The essay on a Rhondda Bethel is a *tour de force* wherein keen observation, wit, and a tinge of cynicism succeed in resurrecting the fierce and emotional spirit of Welsh nonconformity of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The book is beautifully printed and produced and is a delight to handle.

A. E. A. Sulston

PUSEY HOUSE SERMONS

Christianity According to St Paul. Mowbrays. 3s. 6d.

This is the third course of Pusey House sermons to be published: and the standard on the whole is high. John Macdonald writes refreshingly on Original Righteousness. The goal of existence, union with God, would be unthinkable without some initial resemblance. Hugh Maycock sees Original Sin as caused by a deviation from the right path so that the graph of man's response to God's will diverges from and is even below the graph of his will for man. In a luminous sermon on Justification Hugh Montefiore regards as irrelevant the arguments of theologians about imparted or imputed righteousness. God *put men in the right* by a most costly act. Cheslyn Jones, on Incorporation, uses the traditional "made righteous": yet in their context the words do not contradict Montefiore. The address on Glorification by Father Hugh, S.S.F., needs to be read two or three times: but this is worth doing, as its rather cryptic sentences emerge into light.

The prize sermon is undoubtedly that by Austin Farrer, on Predestination. "We are never so much ourselves as in the act of love which God inspires, never so alive as when we are clay under His fingers, and never so free as in being predestinated." G. D. Bayly Jones (on Sanctification) thinks a Rule of Life can be dispensed with as spirituality improves. The Bishop of Dorchester contributes a short sermon on Salvation.

Frederic Hood

POETICAL MEDITATION

MEDITATION FOR A YOUNG BOY CONFIRMED. By ALAN PATON. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

THIS poem, consisting of about one hundred and sixty lines of blank verse in sixteen stanzas, represents a parent's hopes and misgivings as his son embarks upon his spiritual responsibilities. Unspoilt, the boy makes his first Communion with the faith of a child, ignorant of the dangers ahead, and untroubled by doubts.

This instinct, this search after the Unseen (his father would tell him) is common to all men. The strivings of savage, of seer, of scientist; the visions of poet and priest—the details of this Holy Sacrament itself—they are "a discipline of petty acts to catch Creation, a rune of words to hold One Living Word".

Doubts as to the Christian verities will come—let him not despise his simpler beliefs, nor despair of their deeper interpretation. Man is not called upon to pass judgement about his Creator: humility is the very heart of worship. And as to sin and failure—"that is the way of this pilgrimage". "If you should fall into sin, be tempted and fall, and *return*, a thousand times and a thousand, for out of this there comes peace."

The father thanks God for all the childish failures and triumphs of his child. He looks back again from the future, and memory lingers at that altar where the boy has knelt, as seeing him who is Invisible.

Surely this is a meditation for the parent rather than for the boy?

T. DILWORTH-HARRISON

EUCHARISTIC ANTHOLOGY

BE YE THANKFUL. By JOHN A. BOUQUET. Longmans. 12s. 6d. and 8s. 6d.

THIS is an anthology of passages, emphasizing the duty of Thanksgiving, which the compiler relates to the Holy Eucharist. It is divided into six sections, based upon the General Thanksgiving, each section being composed of quotations from poets, Religious, and Divines, introduced by a brief commentary contributed by the compiler.

The selection contains not a few quotations that will be familiar to most people; yet there are some of rare beauty from unexpected sources:

> Be like a bird that, halting in her flight
> Awile in boughs too slight
> Feels them give way beneath her, yet sings,
> Knowing that she hath wings. (Victor Hugo)

or this:

> All this world is God's smithy, for to forge his chosen ones. Wouldst thou that God had no fire in his smithy, nor bellows, nor hammers? (*The Ancrene Riwle*—13th cent.)

A useful index both tells the dates and identifies the authors quoted. A valuable little "bedside" book, but slight, we think, for the price.

T. Dilworth-Harrison

LECTURER AND PULPIT

Commentary on the Sunday Lessons. By Eric W. Heaton. Longmans. 25s.

The Chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral has met a genuine need in preparing this commentary on the new Lectionary. This volume deals with the first year, following the table which began at Advent 1958. A further volume is to be expected. The aim of the commentary is to provide for those who read the lessons and expound them from the pulpit. The short essays, some of them longer than the lessons themselves, are obviously not intended to be read as prefaces but rather for preparatory study.

Canon Heaton has read widely and quotes effectively. His comments are based on sound scholarship, and distil at times the essence of larger standard works. Touches of humour and a certain forthrightness do not detract from the seriousness of the enterprise. If there is rather more emphasis upon the Old Testament than upon the New that reflects Canon Heaton's personal interest, and also the fact that the Old Testament lessons often provide more difficulties than do those from the New Testament. There is a vast amount of potential sermon material here for the parish priest and a real opportunity to associate the lessons with the sermon. The book is attractive to handle and to read, and it deserves the attention not only of the clergy but also of the teaching profession. A charming dedication to the Dean of Salisbury brings home to the reader of this volume the fact that it was written "on the occasion of the celebration of the Cathedral's seven hundredth year".

Marcus Knight

INGE REDIVIVUS

The Awakening of the Soul. By W. R. Inge. Mowbrays. 4s.

These hitherto unpublished lectures on mysticism were delivered nearly fifty years ago in Kensington Town Hall. They have been brought to light by Prebendary A. F. Judd from the mass of Inge papers bequeathed to him by Professor R. H. Lightfoot. It is a delight to have them, and to make contact again with the well remembered literary grace, wide erudition, and deep spirituality of the author. Even the old provocativeness is still there, as when he makes the half suggestion that the efficacy of the sacraments is dependent upon "our will and feeling".

As the lectures were given to a parochial audience there is nothing specially technical about them. Even the occasional Greek word is

carefully translated for us. Nevertheless the treatment is as profound as it is simple. The book will be found equally valuable by those who seek a sound introduction to the subject and by those who wish to revive a cherished memory.

W.W.

FIFTH AVENUE CHURCH

SAINT THOMAS CHURCH IN THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK 1823-1954. By GEORGE E. DE MILLE. Church Historical Society, Austin, Texas. $3.

THIS well written and illustrated account of the chequered history of one of the most famous Anglican churches in the world makes fascinating reading. Two disastrous fires caused changes in the location of the church, which followed its congregation northward. The present magnificent building, completed in 1913, is a living testimony to the genius of Ralph Adams Cram. In the middle of the nineteenth century pews were publicly sold by auction, and there were no free seats. Middle and lower classes were thus excluded. All is of course now transformed, and the wonderful provision for every section of society is here described. Though the churchmanship is central, there has been a well attended daily Eucharist for twenty-five years.

FREDERIC HOOD

FOR THE TRACT CASE

FINDING GOD IN THE SILENCE. By E. K. ELLIS. S.P.C.K. 6d.

THE CONQUEST OF FEAR. By H. C. ROBINS. S.P.C.K. 1s.

TIRESOME TYPES. By A. E. GOULD. Independent Press. 1s. 3d.

THE BROAD WAY AND THE NARROW WAY. By DOUGLAS STEWART. Independent Press. 1s. 3d.

ALL FOUR of these brief pamphlets seem most useful for the Parish Tract Case or even for reprint in the Magazine. They are shrewd, practical, and helpful. *The Broad Way and the Narrow Way* shows up the dangers and absurdities of modern unthinking clichés and woolly-headedness and points to saner living.

Tiresome Types presents rather problems of "getting on with the job" in the face of human perversity. "Not vicious folk, not the sort that send you in search of the nearest blunt instrument, but people who could be twenty times more effective but for just one fly in the ointment." Then follow the man with a chip on his shoulder, the Touchline expert, the Yes-but person, the Would-be reformer, the Martyr—all are clearly but kindly portrayed. Here are warnings in our own examen of conscience and helps in our "contacts".

The Conquest of Fear, a personal testimony by the Dean Emeritus of Salisbury, is thoroughly timely and useful. The fears that come most people's way, the causes, and how to overcome them are all most simply and realistically put before us. The only pity is that these helpful pamphlets so easily become forgotten.

Finding God in the Silence goes deeper than all the others. If folk found God the problems dealt with in the other three pamphlets would hardly arise. Again a great simplicity and practical helpfulness meets one. The writer's "Three Conditions for Prayer"—a Place for Prayer, a Time for Prayer, and to know how to pray—help the reader to go right ahead. Useful quotations easily remembered are given to drive the lessons home, as Wordsworth's

> Every day should leave some part
> Free for a sabbath of the heart.

T. L. MANSON, S.S.J.E.

STYLE AND USE

GUIDE TO ENGLISH PARISH CHURCHES. Edited and with an Introduction by JOHN BETJEMAN. Collins. 30s.

EIGHTEENTH and early nineteenth-century topographers—provided they were not too preoccupied with genealogy—give us evocative descriptions of unspoiled scenery and romanticized buildings, which make good bedside reading for holidays at home and colds in the head. The appearance of Parker's Glossary in 1846 and the classification of architectural styles, put an end to the aesthetic approach and made the writing of guide books into a technical exercise. In the last three-quarters of the nineteenth century, and the first few years of this, when the clergy were leading figures in the county archaeological societies, and among the principal writers of parish history, there was perhaps not much risk that the purpose for which churches were built would be forgotten. Times have changed since then, and your reviewer may not be alone in having been required to write an essay on "Architectural style as exemplified by the Piscina" without having been told what the piscina was used for!

The majority of county guides, and standard books on church architecture treat the buildings as material for stylistic analysis and do nothing to arouse or inform curiosity about their use, or the history of their functional development. Moreover, although we have Addleshaw and Etchell's admirable *Architectural setting of Anglican Worship* which covers the post-reformation period intensively to 1800 and more generally thereafter, there is no equivalent book on the pre-reformation English tradition, nor specifically on the Victorian revival, which describes the structural developments as a logical outcome of liturgical usage.

Mr Betjeman has put every reader in his debt by devoting the sixty-seven pages of his Introduction to a vivid re-creation of the appear-

ance of the buildings at intervals from the beginning of the parish system to post-war subtopia. Inevitably he has written it in a singularly attractive prose style. Now and then one is tempted to argue with him—was baptism ever administered in the porch (p. 25), do not inventories suggest that the eighteenth-century altar was generally adorned with "a pair of quishons" (p. 39), surely devotional books of the period imply that reverence for the Sacrament was as much a cause of infrequent communion as was negligence, around 1805 (one of Mr Betjeman's chosen periods) (p. 45); or again, the careful preservation of early fonts might have been mentioned with Norman chancel arches (p. 46); and were not ochre yellows the prevailing colours in the fifteenth-century mural painter's palette (p. 48)? But these are only small debating points.

The county gazetteers which follow must surely provoke critics to rise in wrath at the omission or down-grading of some favourite churches. Probably Mr Betjeman will not mind, as every reader will have his own preferences and grumbles and the personal tastes of the compilers of each section decided the choice. Babbington in Somerset might have had an up-to-date photograph, since the late W. H. R. Blacking so carefully restored the original colour schemes and altar arrangement. Thomas Hardy was so doughty a fighter for preservation that his burial place, Stinsford, Dorset, could perhaps find a place in a later edition, and Holcombe Rogus replace Holcombe Burnell, in Devon. The Cumberland list seems to read oddly without Dalton, with its fine stone vaulting, or Kirkby Londsdale, and still more clamant for admission, Bowness in Windermere with its ancient glass; if the section on Lanercost is later pruned these might be got in. One hopes that many editions will be called for.

That a guide to churches could be also a publisher's best-seller is something of a surprise—may it startle us into a greater appreciation of our inheritance.

JUDITH SCOTT

ECUMENICAL PREACHING

PREACHING AND THE NEW REFORMATION. By TRUMAN B. DOUGLASS. Independent Press. 9s. 6d.

THIS book consists of the Lyman Beecher Lectures, delivered at Yale Divinity School. The author is an eminent Congregational minister. The New Reformation is, in his view, being brought about by the ecumenical movement. The lectures contain some references to Catholicism in its various manifestations, but the publishers' blurb refers frankly to "the great movement towards Protestant unity"; and that does appear to be what Dr Douglass chiefly has in mind. In an eloquent passage he speaks of preaching as the Protestant equivalent of the elevation of the Host. It is the uplifting of the Word of God: it asserts a doctrine of the real Presence, not metaphysically, but in a way clearly regarded as preferable

—"in life and power". For the Reformers, and evidently for Dr Douglass, preaching is "the supreme sacrament of Christian worship". There is much in these lectures which is excellent. Proper condemnation is given to the pastors who confine themselves to Facing Trouble with a Smile, Subjects such as "God can help you to relax", "Leave your worries at the Church", "Help yourself to serenity" suggest a "happy combination of the more fatuous sentiments of . . . Kipling's 'If' ". The meaningless phrase "Free Churches"—specially so in America—is rightly criticized. Dr Douglass uses the term "validity" ambiguously (but it must be admitted that the late Dr Quick is partly to blame). A statement adopted in 1944 by the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon speaks of ministries of all separated communions as "imperfect and limited in authority". Dr Douglass takes this to mean that they all lack full validity. The author is right in maintaining that the return to biblical theology constitutes the greatest hope for reunion.

FREDERIC HOOD

A BOOK OF SERMONS

THESE ARE THY WONDERS. By G. T. BELLHOUSE. Epworth. 8s. 6d.

FROM their content and implications these sermons appear to be designed for a fairly well educated congregation of the faithful. They are essentially pastoral sermons, preached by one who loves and understands his people, and are full of sympathy, encouragement, and homely wisdom. The language is simple and vivid and wealthy (perhaps too wealthy) in stories and illustrations. There are no bad sermons here, and some are not merely attractive and helpful, but move in a larger dimension. Thus whilst the last two sermons in the book, on the Bible and the Incarnation, cannot fail to please, two earlier sermons, on the Communion of Saints, open a much wider horizon.

In an age when so many set out to preach what they call "human" sermons, it is refreshing to find a preacher obviously human and humane, who lays his main emphasis on the other-worldliness of the Faith. Perhaps Mr Bellhouse, in stressing the importance of inward experience goes too far when he says, "The religious life has always begun and still does begin with an overmastering experience" (p. 108). Indeed, a host of people come to the Faith gradually. Some of these, like St Augustine or Professor Joad, make an intellectual approach; and not a few go through their whole lives with good work and high character to their credit, but unaware of an inward glow.

Sincerity is perhaps the first essential of a good preacher, and this writer has it. Any honest clergyman reading these sermons will find himself asking "Does my love and understanding of my people come through my sermons like this?". Any book of sermons which makes preachers ask that question is of great value.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

PREACHING

THE ART OF COMMUNICATION. By LESLIE TIZARD. Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.

THE author of this valuable little book died before its completion, and it obviously lacks two or three chapters, but there is nothing haphazard or careless about the material set before us. Mr Tizard's method is conversational. He has a good deal to say to preachers about addressing people and not the ceiling or the back of the church; and so his writing is like the conversation of a wise friend who has much to give us, but watches us carefully all the time to see what we need and how far our minds have really followed him. As we are being taught, we learn a lot about the teacher—how humble he was, and how much he realized the high honour of his task. He is always interested in his work, and we are always interested in what he has to say.

Although he does not give us a description of Christ's preaching—not one of the great books on preaching does—he does in fact point more than most to Christ's educational methods: a challenge given from the whole personality to the whole personality, with every encouragement to respond. We should have liked much more from him in commentary on a comparison between this method and the method of the "Preaching" in the Acts of the Apostles. This chapter on communication is excellent, and lays the foundation for and leads up to the best passages in the book, those on Pastoral Preaching.

There is a basis of sound psychology here. The preacher is told that he must so preach that people feel specific help can be given to them in their individual troubles; and a preacher must be able and ready to help those who then come to him. A clergyman need not necessarily be a psychologist or a doctor, but he should be able to recognize the depth of trouble, and know how far he himself can deal with it, or whether he should call in immediately the aid of a physician or a psychiatrist.

This book makes vivid and encouraging reading. It should be recommended for ministerial group discussions, where it would revive many lagging spirits. The author writes as a Congregationalist; that trait does not narrow his outlook, but the firm presentation of a special tradition should be of great interest to people of other ways of thinking.

There is a serious misprint on p. 34—"word" for "world"—which should be corrected in any future edition.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF PREACHING. By ILION T. JONES. Independent Press. 17s. 6d.

THIS must be one of the most exhaustive books of advice for preachers which has ever appeared. The fact that it has American Protestant ministers in view must inevitably limit its usefulness in this country. Nevertheless no preacher could fail to profit by studying and trying to

carry out most of its recommendations. A list of books for suggested reading is given at the end of each chapter: a selected bibliography covers twelve pages, and there is a complete index. The book is offered to the man, whatever stage he has reached in the ministry, who wants to learn to preach more effectively and is willing to pay the price of learning. The five parts are concerned with Background, Planning, Preparing, Delivering, and Building up a Reservoir. The main steps in sermon preparation are seen as selecting subject and text, putting the sub-conscious mind to work, browsing in a library, brooding over the material, deciding on exact theme and objective, making an outline, filling this in with illustrative material, writing out in full, revising and re-shaping, getting the sermon well into one's system, preparation of the preacher himself. Such an ideal may well leave a busy preacher breathless, but Dr Jones has wise things to say about the many duties which can and should be delegated to the laity. No preacher's style should be stilted, pretentious, inspired, or pedantic. Any tendency to purple patches must be suppressed. Detailed advice is given about gestures with arms and hands. Too careful study of this might however make the preacher self-conscious. The book as a whole is a remarkable achievement.

FREDERIC HOOD

SPEECH IN THE PULPIT. By P. E. SANGSTER. Epworth. 8s. 6d.

THIS unusual book is by a son of Dr W. E. Sangster. Dr Leslie Weatherhead, in a Foreword, expresses the wish that he could have studied it when he was a student. He adds that preaching is often less effective because of errors in voice-production, enunciation, mannerisms, etc. It is these with which the author is here concerned. The book makes most entertaining reading; but beneath the witticism there is great wisdom based on wide experience. Correct breathing is regarded as fundamental, and careful advice is given about it. The danger of "talking down" to children is emphasized. No detail of the conduct of divine service is considered too trivial for attention, e.g., how to give out hymns and notices. There are inevitable limitations here for an Anglican reader. To Mr Sangster the pulpit is central, the place from which the main Sunday service is conducted. Scripture is to be read "as if we had never heard it before". This would hardly be edifying when reading the Epistle and Gospel. Nevertheless every ordinand would profit by studying these chapters.

FREDERIC HOOD

HELP IN PRAYER

I

THE SCIENCE OF PRAYER. By MICHAEL BRUCE. S.P.C.K. 4s. 6d.

The Science of Prayer, by a scientist, is written in non-technical language to help any who may still have "an *exaggerated* reverence for science".

The writer states, "In the course of six years of study in biological laboratories I never found any conflict between modern science and prayer. On the contrary, I found that my scientific studies led me to a deeper understanding of prayer and drove me to pray more."

It was while he was in China that the author sensed the need of such a book dealing with the philosophy of prayer and methods of prayer side by side. Herein lies the chief value of the book. It helps in a most practical manner the beginner to overcome the initial difficulties and pitfalls and vigorously to launch out into the deep of real praying. That prayer is not merely a science but an art is emphasized more than once. "I have only told you how to hold your brush and mix your colours . . . " The reader will find advice that is thoroughly sound throughout and most stimulating in its originality of phrasing. The definite examples illustrating methods not only lead the beginner forward without fumbling into a happy confidence but contain many most helpful spiritual thoughts.

II

PRAYERS FOR TO-DAY. Edited by JOHN ELPHINSTONE-FYFFE. Batsford. 15s.

IF THIS exquisite book could be in the hands of every adolescent it might well, under God, convert the world. While it is definitely a book of actual prayers yet at the beginning there is most clear and good teaching about how to pray. The main feature of the book is that facing every page of actual prayers, and there are never more than three prayers on any page, there is a full page colour photograph enshrining the subject matter of the prayers. These most carefully chosen and charming pictures fulfil the aim of the Editor in being "extensions of the prayers". They also serve to focus the attention and not only inspire to intelligent praying but recall a wandering mind and even carry the soul on into real meditation. The arrangement of the book, under the general plan of the seasons of the year and then the times of the day, provides both width and balance. The underlying aim is the best aim of all such books "to help the reader in time to do without a book".

T. L. MANSON, S.S.J.E.

THE VISION OF G. M. HOPKINS

THE SHAPING VISION OF GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS. By ALAN HEUSER. Oxford University Press. 15s.

THIS important essay is concerned with the development of "creative vision" in Hopkins and with a cluster of contributory themes: the tension, sometimes crippling, between "official" Thomism and the Scotism (particularly in the doctrine of Incarnation) which was congenial and assimilable to Hopkins's poetic; the pre-Raphaelite aesthetic and the inter-action of painting, music, and poetry, all of which Hopkins practised with distinction. There is an invaluable restatement of the

poet's characteristic vocabulary but the book's fresh value lies chiefly in the shift of emphasis from technique (sprung rhythm and the complex sources of his metric—though these are adequately treated) to the central metaphysics and theology. While there are revealing asides on technical matters, such as Mr Heuser's relation of Hopkins's mathematical explorations to metric and pictorial composition, it is characteristic of his treatment that even these technical matters lead to a statement connecting Scotist theology and Pythagorean imagery; indeed, the latter emerges as the most convenient focus of the poet's parallel concern with music, mathematics, and visual harmony.

In a work of such terseness—there are fifteen chapters compassed in roughly a hundred pages—there is no indulgence in eulogistic or merely "evocative" writing. Heuser's concentrated style is on occasion as clotted and fretted as the verse of Hopkins; the author courteously assumes appropriate scholarship in the reader's equipment, so that for the most part an allusive phrase does duty for another writer's discursive analysis.

Probably the most important contributions of this book are the semantic examinations of "inscape" and "instress", with a scholarship that matches that of Hopkins (Chapters 4–6) and the very remarkable brief analyses of single poems; the scrutiny of *Spelt from a Sybil's Leaves* (p. 67) is as good as anything we have in Hopkins criticism. In short, this book is the proper complement to the editorial work of Professor Abbott, Mr Gardner, and Humphry House.

W. Moelwyn Merchant

TALES OF TO-DAY

Faith for Life. By Graham Christie. Faith Press. 7s. 6d.

I confess that I started to read this collection of stories illustrating doctrinal teaching with a jaundiced eye. So many volumes of the kind are written with a smug air of superiority which offends the mind, or with a lack of critical appreciation which allows second-rate stories to be used to deliver a series of moral platitudes. It was with relief and subsequent enjoyment that I went on to read something new and fresh. For one thing, the author understands children and does not talk down to them. He also handles his material so attractively that the reading becomes a pleasure. More important than all, the doctrinal purpose in each case is as definite as it is clear.

Frank A. F. Poulden

DAY SCHOOL PRAYERS

Unto the Hills. By R. R. Broackes. National Society and S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d.

This is another book of prayers for the Day School Assembly Worship, this time for the Junior department. This one rises above its competitors in the first place by reason of its excellent format. Whilst this makes the

price rather heavy for the casual purchaser, it commends the book to the Local Educational Authority, which demands a certain standard in these things. Secondly, from the Church's point of view, it has the advantage of observing clearly the course of the Church's year, with the inclusion of much material from the Book of Common Prayer. Lastly, the Preface, with its practical guidance in the use of the book, is obviously the work of a skilled technician in the art of teaching.

FRANK A. F. POULDEN

BOOKS ON MARRIAGE

I

MARRIAGE WAS MADE FOR MAN. By A. P. SHEPHERD. Methuen. 8s. 6d.

THE Bishop of Worcester describes this work in a Foreword as a controversial book. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the sub-title is "A Study of the Problem of Marriage and Divorce in Relation to the Church of England", for a study would be dispassionate and not controversial. The author describes those who hold that a ratified and consummated marriage is indissoluble as "rigorists". He uses the word as a convenient term ". . . which carries no further implications". One supposes, therefore, that one may use the contrary theological term "laxist" of those who hold the view that marriage is dissoluble. This likewise carries no further implication.

Discussing Mark 10. 9, he writes, ". . . can only be rightly translated: 'What therefore God hath joined together, a man (in this context a husband) must not put asunder.' " But neither Moffatt, Phillips, Rieu, or the R.S.V. so translate it. It is difficult for us to believe that Dr Shepherd's translation is the only possible one.

Dr Shepherd shows little concern or knowledge of the history of marriage between the Reformation and 1857, for he has dealt with it in the space of one page. He does not discuss the reason as to why the Canons of 1603-4 allowed only a divorce *a mensa et a thoro*. Nor does he mention the 1597 Canons. The Bigamy Act (I James c. 11) shows that second marriages were of sufficient frequency to exempt the partner of such a marriage from the penalty attached to adultery. This Act might have helped the author's case. But in spite of the Act, the Canons of 1603-4 remained unaltered.

The author's most interesting point is his discussion as to whether since the Act for the Submission of the Clergy, Convocation has any right of legislation by whatever name its legislation is called except under the conditions imposed by the Act.

The author's most useful result is to make readers more grateful for Dr Winnett's *Divorce and Re-marriage in Anglicanism*. Here indeed is a real study of the problem of marriage and divorce in relation to the Church of England. Dr Shepherd writes with such sincerity that one is sorry to have dealt so hardly with his book, and had it not been called a study, the review would have been written on different lines.

F. E. P. S. LANGTON

II

A Handbook to Marriage and Marriage Guidance. By Theodor Bovet. Longmans. 12s. 6d.

The Psychology of Marriage and the Family Life. By W. E. Sargent. Independent Press. 8s. 6d.

Though these two books are written for different groups of readers, they have so much in common that it is possible to deal with them in the same notice, and the fact that they are extremely good and written in a deeply Christian spirit makes the notice easier.

Dr Bovet writes for marriage counsellors, while Dr Sargent writes for married people themselves. Both approach marriage as in the words of Dr Bovet's Introduction: "Behind the tangible relationship with any man and any woman stands a great mystery—and not somewhere on the edge of it, but involved with every tiniest action within it. Only against such a background can we understand the visible reality of marriage; without it, we must inevitably go on misunderstanding it." Being Swiss, and living amongst two great religions, he has a deep understanding of the difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic views of marriage, and he is extremely fair to both points of view.

In a short notice it is impossible to select passages for quotation, but on every page one notices some striking sentence which reveals a scientific knowledge and Christian spirit. It is to be hoped that every priest and every marriage counsellor will make use of this book. Dr Bovet discusses more deeply than Dr Sargent the question of contraception in marriage, and Dr Bovet's stress on the practice of abstinence is a fine piece of Christian writing. "The more unconditionally we love God, the more surely He will lead us, either to have children, or to prevention, or to abstention, and he will give us the strength and joy to follow His way." "Perhaps having to give up children may be a sign that we are to rise to a new type of life. Every time a contraceptive is used, one should ask oneself Why?" Both authors recognize the rightfulness of the use of contraceptives within marriage.

He is extremely fair to the Roman Catholic position, and discusses the permission given by Chanson to *coitus reservatus* as "the supreme solution of the problem of contraception, agreeable to Roman Catholic doctrine, and nevertheless pleasurable". It is, however, only fair to say that not all Roman Catholic moralists accept Chanson's point of view.

Dr Bovet, writing more strongly than Dr Sargent against divorce, regards resort to divorce as being such an extreme measure as hardly to be contemplated, and welcomes the growing strictness of the United Lutheran Churches of Germany in declaring the remarriage of divorced persons to be as a rule inadmissable. He is, however, mistaken about nullity in the Church of England, writing that the Bishops of the Church of England can declare a marriage null. The Church of England abides strictly by a civil court's decision, though there are ecclesiastical nullity procedures in other parts of the Anglican Communion.

Dr Sargent has exceeded his terms of reference, but one is extremely

grateful for it, for his last chapter "For the Unmarried and the Widowed" is extremely sensitive and understanding, and one wishes it could be made available separately. One is therefore the more sorry that he should advocate sterilization in certain cases.

They are both good books, and are a welcome addition to the growing number of books on marriage both in its physical and spiritual aspects. Unfortunately, they both have the same defect. They have no index.

F. E. P. S. LANGTON

RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

THE SILENT REBELLION. By A. M. ALLCHIN. S.C.M. 25s.

HERE is the fruit of accurate scholarship, wide research, and deep thinking. The very title reveals the originality and spirit of the author. The theme is of fascinating interest and of far greater importance than might at first sight appear. In this account of the revival of the Religious Life in England in the nineteenth century we find no mere narrow ecclesiastical list of events. We are carried at once to the mountain tops to see the whole panorama of the social and religious life of the nation, and the far reaching and revolutionary effects of the comparatively few and obscure but courageous pioneers. The suffering and poverty of the labouring classes, the materialistic optimism of the rich, the "feminist movement", Florence Nightingale and nursing, the transformation of the slums, the rousing of the conscience of the nation (bringing about our "welfare state" mentality), the quickening of the spiritual life of the Church, the transformation of economic Shibboleths, all pass in review, and the reader is given a deeper understanding of the bewildering problems of our own day. It is a book not to be missed by anyone who would be able truly to interpret the signs of the times and gain impetus to look ahead creatively.

One valuable characteristic of *The Silent Rebellion* is that it expresses hardly at all the mere opinion of the author, but is a presentation of objective facts—the actual words and achievements of the leading personalities of the period. Thus the circumstances, the changes, and the varying "atmosphere" of the century are brought most vividly before us.

At the same time we find no biassed account. Nothing is seen through rose tinted spectacles. The disagreements and even the mistakes of the early pioneers are shown clearly, yet with sympathy and charity.

The records and quotations given in detail provide most attractive and stimulating reading and show both the need for the "rebellion", and the spiritual drive and courage of the leaders. The crippling of the Church in life and work through the suppression of the Monasteries ("by men who had a greater desire for the goods of the Church than for the good of the Church") we find criticized by Herbert Thorndike (1598-1672) in a work not published until 1854: "seeing that monasticism is a perfection to Christianity, it is certainly a blot in the Reformation which we profess, that we are without it." Again there is quoted a telling passage of Fr

Congreve, S.S.J.E., showing how "the Church has been depressed and enfeebled by the loss of the full meaning of the idea of sacrifice and of a consecrated life during three centuries; conventionality and respectability have benumbed her energies".

The part played by Sisterhoods in revolutionizing hospital nursing shows the leaven in the lump in one great field. The sheer existence of the Communities in the face of misunderstanding and opposition marks a spiritual revolution. Utilitarian pleas for communities to do the work of the Church cheaply give place to an understanding that alone by a call of God can the life come about.

No doubt the chief lesson of the book is that it throws into clear relief how the good hand of God has all along been guiding and upholding his Church. Communities sprang into being, grew, and flourished, overcoming all misunderstanding, prejudice, and opposition, not through man-made utilitarian plans which came to nothing but in response to the Divine Vocation. More and more the revolution of thought from humanistic to God-centred reckoning was effected. This urgent necessity to which only too many are blind to-day and on which the life of each generation depends was seen and proclaimed by many a prophet during this period. The author quotes to us from Westcott's Harrow sermon of 1868, "We want a discipline which shall combine the sovereignty of soul of Antony, the social devotion of Benedict, the humble love of Francis, the matchless energy of the Jesuits, with Faith that fears no trial, the Hope that fears no darkness, with Truth that fears no light. . . . Antony was barely older than some of you when he applied to himself the words of the Gospel, 'If thou wilt be perfect, go sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come and follow Me'. Benedict was hardly older than the youngest of you when he fled to his cave, and by sharp austerities prepared himself to be the legislator of the most permanent society in Europe. . . . A work awaits England and our English Church greater than the world has yet seen. I cannot but pray everyone who hears me to listen humbly for the promptings of God's Spirit, if so be that He is even now calling him to take a foremost part in it."

T. L. MANSON, S.S.J.E.

A CHALLENGE TO EDUCATIONALISTS

THE SOCIAL PURPOSES OF EDUCATION. By K. G. COLLIER. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 21s.

THE author has given us a well documented and careful review of the present situation in the educational sphere, particularly with reference to the training of children to take their proper place in the social and economic pattern of life to-day. It is a scholarly and masterly piece of work, which deserves a much wider circulation than is usually accorded to books of this type. Parents, priests, teachers, and all interested in government or local government policies will find much therein to

stimulate their minds and to provoke new thought. Mr Collier is not dogmatic in his arguments and lays no claim to infallibility in his conclusions, but his convictions are patently strong and sincere.

The book opens with a clear analysis of the present state of society and a review of its effects upon the human mind. There is, unfortunately, one lapse from the author's fair standard of judgement, in Chapter three, where he alleges that a substantial proportion of those who make their Easter Communion probably are sceptical of the Creeds they are taught. Substantial grounds for such an assertion should be produced and none is forthcoming. What would seem to be the main criticism is negative in character. The book contains no reference to the importance of worship as a necessary factor in religious education. The value of Christian action and of ethical standards is acknowledged but it ought to be remembered that though these factors reflect the skill of Christianity, worship is its art. Together both reinforce and interpret Christian theory.

FRANK A. F. POULDEN

BLACK AND WHITE

BIGGER THAN LITTLE ROCK. By ROBERT R. BROWN. S.P.C.K. 10s. 6d.

APARTHEID is not confined to South Africa.

The Bishop of Arkansas describes this book as a "Report", and the adjective that best describes it is "factual". He sees in the events that gave "Little Rock" the headlines for a few days, sparks which could kindle a world conflagration.

One doubts whether any Englishman had heard of Little Rock a couple of years ago, or whether a handful of them could say what it is even now. Little Rock is a Southern-State city of 243,000 inhabitants, the Capital of Arkansas, possessed of 200 churches and places of worship, a town with three whites to one coloured citizen, renowned for the friendliness of its people.,

What happened? In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that discrimination against coloured people in the schools was unconstitutional. The School Board of Little Rock announced its intention of complying with this decision as soon as the time limit for compliance was established. The representatives of the Coloured people petitioned for immediate "integration". The Virginia *NewsLeader*, contrariwise, called for pledges to "litigate this thing for fifty years". In 1956 twenty-seven negroes attempted to register at Little Rock schools at all grades, but the authorities considered that this was attempting to rush the thing. The supporters of integration pressed their claims in Court. Opposition hardened, and violence was threatened to negro children presenting themselves. The Governor turned out the National Guard in their defence. A few days later a mob of a thousand whites gathered at the school. "They cursed, shoved, tore their hair, wept, when they learned that nine

Negro students had been taken through a side entrance." Free fights followed; the police could hardly prevent city-wide violence. President Eisenhower cleared the way for the use of Federal Troops, and eleven hundred officers and men of the Airborne Division flew to Little Rock.

All communication broke down. Fellowship between White and Black was disrupted. Whites distrusted Whites, and Blacks distrusted Blacks, since on both sides alternative views were held, Church members were divided. A day of Reconciliation was appointed. Eighty-six of the two hundred churches joined in (which included all the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches), and people flocked to prayer.

In February last year the Little Rock School Board again petitioned the U.S. District Court, for delay in the integration of its public schools, broadly on the grounds that coercion can never bring peace. The clergy asked themselves, "When does the Church have the responsibility to pick up the leather thong, and to drive the selfish interests out of the Temple?" But they have not found the answer yet.

The Bishop's message is, "These things can happen here" (as indeed we have had good reason to experience lately), and that veneer Christianity gets people nowhere—only the Way of the Cross, so completely by-passed by conventional Christianity, can achieve harmony. "My Peace I give unto you. Not as the World giveth, give I unto you."

T. DILWORTH-HARRISON

PAROCHIALIA

THE PARISH PRIEST AT WORK. By C. R. FORDER. S.P.C.K. 21s.

EVERYONE concerned with pastoral work will welcome the revised second edition of this invaluable work, first published in 1947. It is a comprehensive manual of parochial work and administration, without any of the dryness and impersonality we might expect. On the contrary, it is warm-hearted, well written, and enlivened with a glancing wit. The author must be a man with a truly vast knowledge of his subject; he reminds us of Goldsmith's schoolmaster, who packed so much knowledge into such small space. Yet he is a humble man, and therefore quotes frequently and fully from other writers on the subject, and adds exemplary bibliographies at the end of each chapter, with an adequate index at the end.

Archdeacon Forder points out in his original preface that "for the purpose of this book it must be assumed that all is well with the priest's own inner life". Nevertheless, throughout the work, apart from specific paragraphs, he leaves us in no doubt that no technical proficiency can compensate for the lack of a strong spiritual life: "without prayer and meditation there can be no spiritual efficiency, and without this all other efficiency in the priest is in vain".

This perception of true values characterizes all the author's writing about personal relationships. What could be of more importance in the Anglican Communion than the building up of a really living fellowship

among the clergy? The Archdeacon shows that this is often demonstrably missing, not only in lack of courtesy, in constant criticism and jealousy, but in the refusal to answer letters and to take any trouble about commendations.

There are deep insights in this book, and a true inspiration. The multitude of facts, admirably marshalled, marches before us; but we are never allowed to forget that all the array and all the planning are designed to set the priest free for his life of prayer and ministration.

GEORGE M. BOSWORTH

"TIMES" SERMONS

CHRISTIAN CONFIDENCE. By GEORGE SAYWELL. James Clarke. 12s. 6d.

THE Saturday articles on religious subjects published in *The Times* are anonymous. Occasionally the veil is lifted a little. We now know that for sixteen years the late Prebendary George Saywell regularly contributed one of these articles a month, as well as editing others.

Those now published are all collected from the war years 1939-45. The subject is usually explicitly, perhaps always in some way connected with the Collect, Epistle, or Gospel for the coming Sunday. The clue as to which Sunday this is is provided in the table of contents.

The title of the selection *Christian Confidence* is admirably chosen. Again and again this quality emerges. Precious at all times, it was doubly precious in the years when the addresses appeared in *The Times*. The author has a gift for pregnant and memorable phrases; "There can be no religion, nor indeed any corporate life without faith", or again, "The casual questioner can never enter the inner sanctuary of truth".

The articles are an interesting example of the difference between the written and the spoken word. When we read such meditations they are most often spoken addresses subsequently published. These were written to be read in print. They are more condensed, more abstract, less illustrated than the spoken word could be. In spite of their brevity, limited to some 650 words, each is able to convey a concentrated argument.

Canon Carpenter's foreword is of particular value. In little over five pages he gives a penetrating study of the writer which throws a flood of light on the contents of the book and makes the reader feel as if he had known the author personally.

J. S. BREWIS